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REMARKS

ON

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M. de Voltaire's History

OF

CHARLES XII. King of Sweden.

In which not only a great Number of that Author's Mistakes are rectified, but many of his Omissions are largely supplied; Series of Transactions are otherwise related than in him, or any other Writer; and several curious Particulars, no where else to be found, concerning the Battle of *Pultawa*, the King's Flight into *Turkey*, the Action and Peace at the River *Pruth*, the Intrigues and Negotiations at the *Porte*, &c. are recorded.

Interpersed with the Characters and History of several Grand Vizirs, and other Officers of the *Ottoman* Empire.

Written by Count PONIATOWSKI, a *Polish* Nobleman, formerly Lieutenant-General to his *Swedish* Majesty, and his Minister at the *Porte* during that King's Residence in *Turkey*; now Lieutenant-General in the Service of *Poland*.

Translated into ENGLISH.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. BRINDLEY, Bookseller to his Royal Highness the Prince of WALES, at the *King's-Arms* in *New-Bond-Street*; and J. HODGES, at the *Looking-Glass* over-against *St. Magnus's Church, London-Bridge*; and sold by T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-Row*. Price 2 s.

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.



NE of our ancient Wits said very agreeably, but in a Manner perhaps a little too decisive, that, a Man must be very weak, who studied History with the Hope of discovering in it what had passed ; because, it is not so much the History of Facts, as of the Opinions which such and such Authors have conceived of them, and of the Relations which they have published (a). We are almost tempted to believe him, when we see not only the Negligence and Inattention, but even the Infidelity, and want of Exactness, with which it is most frequently writ.

In Fact, among the prodigious Number of Writers of all Kinds, who have attempted it, there are absolutely but a very few who are truly worthy of the Attention and Approbation of Men of Sense. This is what Criticks the least severe, and the most judicious, have but too solidly proved.

To turn to the Ancients ; we reckon but a very few Thucydides and Polybius's, among the Greeks ; and but a very few Sallusts, Suetonius's and Tacitus's among the Romans. And of the Moderns, for one Thuanus, and one Grotius, who were two incomparable Men, we have Millions of Varrillas's and Maimbourgs. They are sometimes, indeed, agreeable Writers ; but, for the most Part, destitute of the most essential Qualities, Sincerity and Learning, and consequently very bad Historians : Men who are ready, not only to publish with Precipita-

(a) *Oeuvres de l'Abbé de St. Real, tom. III. p. 171.*

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tion the History of the first Hero that is proposed to them, even while he yet lies publicly exposed upon his Bed of State, as has been judiciously observed (b) ; but also to lye most impudently in his Favour, either from Interest or Spirit of Party, and very often from both.

It is not without Reason, therefore, that Readers of Understanding turn over with Abundance of Circumspection the many historical Writings that are daily published, even those towards which one would imagine they must be the most favourably disposed ; because this Precaution, and this Diffidence, are unhappily but too well founded.

When Mr. de Voltaire published his History of Charles XII, King of Sweden ; the Talents of the Author ; the Impartiality, he was reasonably supposed to have, with regard to Princes and People from whom he had nothing to hope or fear ; the Public Protestations that he made of his Love of Truth, at the Head of his Work ; the illustrious Persons he there cites as his Guarantees, and from whom he assures us he obtained his Memoirs (c) ; every Thing, in a Word, contributed to form the most advantageous Prejudice in his Favour. His History, accordingly, was extremely well received, and almost universally applauded. But yet, Thing every in it was very far from being as true, and as exact, as could have been wished. Not to mention the Observations of Messieurs de la Motraye and d'Alderfield, you

(b) *Journal histor. de la Repub. des Lettres*, tom. III. p. 152.

(c) These Persons were, M. Fabricius, who lived seven Years in close Familiarity with King Charles XII. and retired into England a long Time after his Death ; M. Croissy, the French Ambassador to that Monarch ; M. de Fierville, the French Envoy to him in Turkey ; M. de Feriol, Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte ; M. de Ville Longue, a Colonel in his Service ; M. de Poniatowski ; and, in short, sometimes crowned Heads themselves. See the preliminary Discourse to his History, *in the French*.

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have here the Remarks of a Polish Nobleman, and perhaps of one of those illustrious Guarantees, with whose Names Mr. de Voltaire does himself Honour ; in which many Facts are related quite differently from what we find them in him ; and in some Particulars, where that Author brings himself as a sort of ocular Witness of what he relates.

For Example ; M. de Voltaire says, p. 172. That Poniatowski entered into close Friendship with one Bru, a Frenchman, who had been Chancellor of the French Embassy. But our Polish Lord remarks here, p. 40. That this Friendship was with an old Hungarian Gentleman, named Ferens Horuat, and a Refugee at Constantinople. In the same Page, M. de Voltaire expresses himself thus : One who seconded Poniatowski's Designs with the greatest Abilities, was Fonseca, a Portuguese Physician and Jew, whom I knew very well at Paris, but who was then settled at Constantinople. But the Polish Lord attributes this to a French Renegade, the chief Surgeon of the Seraglio, whose Name was Goin.

This surprising Diversity is not only remarked with respect to Persons, as well in their own Names as in the Names of their Countries, but even in long and circumstantial Recitals of Facts : Witness, among others, that of the Motive which induced Charles XII. to renounce Wine for ever, which our noble Pole, in p. 3, and 4. in plain Terms ascribes to the Indecencies that Liquor had made him commit ; but which M. de Voltaire, p. 26, contents himself to say, was owing merely to its over-heating Constitution, which was already all on fire. And witness also the King of Sweden's pretended Letter to the Grand Signior, recited by M. de Voltaire, p. 169, 170 ; but which our Nobleman, p. 39. affirms to have been quite otherwise ; and that Charles XII, the sworn Enemy of all Flattery,

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never signed a Letter so full of Vanity and Ostentation.

It is the same with regard to many brilliant Touches, and extraordinary Particulars, wherewith Mr. de Voltaire has thought proper to enrich and adorn his Book; of which not a Word is said here, or the little Reality of which is here shewn: And the same Thing may be also said of many considerable Omissions, that have been the more carefully supplied in the present Work, in proportion as they are essential to this History.

We shall not detain the Reader with any needless Encomiums on these Remarks. As they are naturally writ, without any studied Affectation of Stile, and with that native Candor, which makes a favourable Impression upon every equitable Reader, they cannot fail of being agreeably received by the Publick; especially as they come from a Man of Rank and Distinction, who writes as a Contemporary that is well informed, not by other Contemporaries, but by his own Eyes; and who might, perhaps much more justly than Mr. de Voltaire, boast of having his Information sometimes from crowned Heads. — Thus far the Editor.

The Translator has only to add, that whereas in the Original References are made to two Editions of Mr. de Voltaire's History, that of *Basil* in 1731, and that of *Amsterdam* in 1739, it was thought sufficient here to refer to the *Amsterdam* Edition only, as the most common in *England*, and to the *English* Translation. If any one should wonder at seeing Mr. de Voltaire's Original taken Notice of here at all, let him compare the Passages commented on with the Pages referred to in the *English* Translation, and he will see that there was no other Way of justifying some Variations from the latter, but by sending him where he may be sure of finding his Author perfect and exact.

R E.



REMARKS

ON

M. de Voltaire's History

OF

CHARLES XII. King of Sweden.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Page 22 of the *Amsterdam* Edition of the Original, 1739. p. 15. of the *English* Translation in 12mo. the 6th Edition, 1735.



H R E E powerful Princes, taking the Advantage of his (King Charles's) extreme Youth, conspired his Ruin almost at the same Time. The first was Frederick IV. King of Denmark, his Cousin: The second, Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and King of Poland: Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, was the third, and the most dangerous.

REMARK.

THE Valour of the *Swedish* Nation has been acknowledged in all Ages. Their Kings have ever been great Warriors, and their Reputation has been justly established for a long Time past.

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But,

But, the extreme Youth of *Charles XII*, his Occupations at the Beginning of his Reign, his Propensity to Pleasures and Diversions, a profound Peace which the *Swedes* had enjoyed for a great Number of Years, made the Czar, and the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, imagine to themselves the Facility of depressing that Power, and making Conquests upon it.

However, as some Pretences were necessary to begin a War, the Czar took up that of not having been honourably received in his Passage through *Riga*, though he was there *incognito*: The King of *Poland* found that of the *Pacta conventa*, by which he was obliged to take and rejoin to *Poland*, all the Provinces and Countries which that Kingdom had lost; and *Livonia* was one of those Provinces: The King of *Denmark* thought to strip the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* of his Estates; not doubting but the King of *Sweden* would be overwhelmed himself, if he attempted to succour the Duke, his Relation and Ally.

These Princes made a very private League among themselves, and took their Measures for beginning the War; judging, that a young Prince without Experience, with Troops enervated by a long Peace, would be unable to resist their Efforts. This was the true Subject of the Northern War.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 52. *English* Translation, p. 25.

He determined also to abstain from Wine all the rest of his Life; not, as has been pretended, to punish himself for an Excess, which, as they say, led him into some Irregularities, unworthy of himself. Nothing is more false than this vulgar Report. He never suffered Wine to get the Mastery over

over his Reason; as I have been assured by M. de Croissy, Ambassador (of France) at his Court: But Wine over-heated his Constitution, which was already all Fire. He soon after left off Beer too, and confined himself to pure Water.

R E M A R K.

CHARLES the Twelfth's Abstinence from Wine, according to the Report of many Persons, who were, from the earliest Youth of that Prince, very near his Person, was occasioned by the Reproaches of the Queen his Grandmother. One Day, when the King came home from Hunting, and had drank Wine a little copiously at Breakfast, he went to wait upon the Queen at her Dinner, quite tipsy, and besmeared with the Blood of the Beasts they had killed. The Queen reproved him very severely for his Indecency; but, not caring to listen to a Correction so rough, and his Spur being, either with Design, or thro' Negligence, hung in the Table-Cloth, he went out of the Room hastily, and threw down all the Dishes upon her Majesty's Clothes. At Dinner-Time the next Day, the Queen began to renew her Reprimands, reproaching him with his Excess of Wine. Charles rose up, went to the Buffet, ordered a large Glass of Wine to be filled him, and drank it off to the Queen's Health; saying at the same Time, That, 'since Wine 'had made him deficient in the Respect he 'owed her, it was for the last Time in his Life 'that he now drank of it.' And, in effect, he kept his Word.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 54. English Translation,
p. 26.

While the little Country of Holstein was thus the

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Seat

Seat of the War, two Squadrons, one from England, and the other from Holland, appeared in the Baltick-Sea. These two States were Guarantees of the Treaty of Altena, which the Danes had violated. The Interest of their Commerce has a long Time engaged the English and Dutch, as far as lies in their Power, to preserve an equal Ballance among the Princes of the North. They joined the young King of Sweden, who seemed in Danger of being overwhelmed by so many united Enemies; and succoured him for the same Reason that the others attacked him, because they thought him not in a Condition to defend himself.

R E M A R K.

IN Acknowledgment for the Support of the King of England, Charles XII promised that Nation, that he would not intermeddle in the War with France for a certain Number of Years. The Remembrance of this Promise very much favoured the Negociation of the Duke of Marlborough in Saxony.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 84. English Translation, p. 47.

Charles very soon got his Cannon landed, and formed his Army, while the Enemy, blinded by the Smoke, were not able to oppose him, except by a few Shot discharged at Random.

R E M A R K.

CHARLES XII could land only two Regiments of Infantry, the Body of *Drabans*, consisting of 200 Men, and a Squadron of Cuirassiers of his own Regiment. It was with this Handful of Men that he beat the Enemy.

M. de

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 116, *English* Translation, p. 67.

The King of Sweden at last arrived before Warsaw, on the 5th of May 1702. The Gates were opened to him upon the first Summons. He sent away the Polish Garrison, dismissed the City-Guard, and every where established Guards of his own.— King Augustus was then getting together his Forces at Cracow. He was much surpris'd to see the Cardinal Primate arrive there ?

R E M A R K.

WARS AW was not fortified, nor was there any Garrison there. The Cardinal continued in the Place of his Residence at *Louiez*, and did not go to *Cracow*.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 119, 120. *English* Translation, p. 69, 70.

Charles gained a compleat Victory. — He made no Stay upon the Field of Battle, but march'd directly to Cracow. — He departed from that City in the Resolution of pursuing Augustus without Intermission. But some Miles from the City his Horse fell with him, and broke his Thigh. They were obliged to carry him back to Cracow, where he remained for six Weeks in the Hands of his Surgeons.

R E M A R K.

HE staid eight Days on the Field of Battle ; then left all the Wounded in the Castle of *Pinczow*, at the Distance of a League from the said Field : Afterwards he marched to *Cracow*, where

where he broke his Leg, and continued there the Time mentioned, for a Cure.

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 123. *English* Translation, p. 72.

Charles, having augmented his Troops with six Thousand Horse, — march'd against the Saxon Army, — which shunned his Approach, and retired towards Prussia.

R E M A R K.

TH E six Thousand Men of whom the Author speaks, brought from *Pomerania* by General Count *Guldensterna*, were sent back from whence they came. In their March, a Party of *Poles*, commanded by Colonel *Rzewowski*, fell upon a Detachment of two Hundred Horse, and made them Prisoners. Upon this News the King of *Sweden*, who had stopped at *Lubnice* in the Palatinate of *Sandomir*, to get more perfectly recovered of his Fall, dispatched Count *Poniatowski* to General *Lubomirski*, with Orders to tell him, ‘ That if he did not send back the two Hundred Men that had been carried off, he would cause all his Estates to be ravaged, and laid in Ashes.’ This had its Effect, and the Prisoners were all delivered.

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 120, 121. *English* Translation, p. 70.

In this short Interval, Augustus assembles first at Mariembourg, then at Lublin, all the Orders of the Kingdom, who had been before convoked at Sandomir. — He there regained almost all their Minds by Presents and Promises, and by that Affability, which is so necessary to absolute Kings to win their

their Subjects Affections, and to elective Kings to preserve their Authority.

REMARK.

HERE a Circumstance, very necessary for the clearing up of the History, is omitted. The Deputies of *Great Poland*, upon a Suspicion of their being in the Interest of the King of *Sweden*, were not admitted to give their Votes in the Diet of *Lublin*. In the Dietine of Report, an Assembly usually held after the Diet, they exaggerated the Affront given to the *Palatinates*; and the Invasion made on their Liberty. Animated, moreover, and supported by the *Swedes*, they entered into a Confederacy, by which they engaged to maintain King *Augustus* upon the Throne, *Salvis juribus paſtorum conventorum*; a Clause that was very liable to Criticism, and a doubtful Interpretation, if the King had taken notice of it. This Confederacy, calling in other *Palatinates* to join that of *Great Poland*, advanced towards *Warsaw*, where, in the Assembly convoked by the Cardinal, the *Exvinculation* of their Obedience to the King of *Poland* was published.

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 120, & seq. *English* Translation, p. 84, & seq.

When the Primate of Poland knew that Charles XII had nominated the Palatine Leczinski, in the same arbitrary Manner that Alexander nominated Abdolominus, he immediately wited on his Majesty, to endeavour to make him change his Resolution, and transfer the Crown to one Lubomirski. 'But what, says the Conqueror, have you to object against Stanislaus Leczinski?' 'Sir, says the Primate, he is too young'. The King replied, 'He is much about my Age,

Age, turned his back upon the Prelate, and immediately sent Count Hoorn to signify to the Assembly at Warsaw, that they must elect a King in five Days, and that the Election must fall on Stanislaus Leczynski. Count Hoorn arrived the 7th of July, and fixed the Day of Election to the 12th, as if he had ordered the Decampment of a Battalion. — The Bishop of Posnania put an End to the Assembly by declaring, in the Name of the Diet, Stanislaus elected King of Poland. Charles, who had mixed with the Crowd, was the first to cry out Vivat. All the Hats flew up into the Air, and the Noise of the Acclamations quite stifled the Cries of the Opposers.

R E M A R K.

IT was Count Hoorn, Ambassador of Sweden to the Assembly at *Warsaw*, who demanded of the Cardinal the Election of a Candidate to the Throne of *Poland*. The Cardinal's Propositions, and the Answer he received to them, were conformable to the Author's Relation.

For a long Time before this, the Cardinal had wished to see his Cousin *Towianski* (now great Chamberlain of the Crown, and actually residing privately at *Paris*) married to the Daughter of the Great General of the Crown *Lubomirski*. The Proposal had been hitherto rejected; but was now, in the present Situation of Affairs, accepted of, through the Interposition of the Palatine of *Posnania*.

The Cardinal, vexed that the King had expressed himself so positively with regard to the Choice of a Candidate, endeavoured, but in vain, to make him change his Sentiments in favour of the Father-in-Law of his Relation.

The Time of Convocation expired, and the King pressed on the Election upon the Day fixed by the Cardinal's *Universalis*. The

The King of Sweden was not present, as the Author says, in the Field of Election ; nor was any one of his Deputies there : He staid in his Camp three Leagues from *Warsaw*.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 150. *English* Translation, p. 90.

Charles, accompanied by King Stanislaus, went in quest of his Enemy (Augustus) at the Head of the best Part of his Troops. The Saxon Army fled every where before him.—Successes became too familiar to him. He said it was rather Hunting than Fighting, and complained that he could not purchase a Victory.

R E M A R K.

THE King of Sweden, at his Return from *Leopol*, found King *Augustus* at *Warsaw*. Charles encamped at *Prag*, on the other Side of the *Vistula* ; and these two Princes, separated by the River, often took a View of each other, and once even spoke together, each being on his own Side of the River.

The Preparations which the King of Sweden made for building a Bridge, occasioned the King of Poland to quit *Warsaw*, to keep out of his Way.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 151. *English* Translation, p. 91.

Count Schullenbourg, a very able General — made War with Address, and the two Kings with Vivacity. — After many Stratagems and Countermarches, — the Swedes fell upon the Saxons with their usual Impetuosity, who waited for them unshaken. — Schullenbourg gave way at last ; but his Troops
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were not broken, — and the Saxons crossed the Oder upon Planks, under Favour of the Night.

R E M A R K.

THE King of Sweden made incredible Expedition, with seven Regiments of Dragoons, to follow the Saxons: It was then that he attacked General Schullenbourg at the Distance of a League from the Frontiers of Silesia. The Swedes entered into the Enemies Square; but they did not avail them of that Advantage, because of the Obscurity of the Night, which permitted General Schullenbourg to make an honourable Retreat, and save his Troops.

The King of Sweden, at Break of Day; went in pursuit of his Enemies; but, perceiving that they had already passed the River, he turned back to re-enter Poland, and put himself first into Winter Quarters.

Two Hundred unfortunate Cossacks, of General Schullenbourg's Army, being surpris'd in a Village by the Swedes, attempted to defend themselves in the Houses; but the Houses in the mean Time taking Fire, some of them were burned, and the rest put to the Sword.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 157, & seq. English Translation, p. 97, & seq.

Stanislaus prepared for his Coronation, which was quietly and pompously performed October the 4th, 1705, in the City of Warsaw, notwithstanding it had been the Custom in Poland to crown their Kings at Cracow. — Charles XII was present at this Ceremony Incognito, as he had been at the Election; the only Fruit he reaped from his Conquests.

R E

R E M A R K.

WHEN the Day of King *Stanislaus's* Coronation drew near, the King of *Sweden* sent before him two Regiments of Horse, commanded by the Colonels *Nirod* and *Burnschild*, to take Post at *Warsaw*.

Five Thousand *Saxons*, under the Command of General *Patkul*, and a Party of *Polish* Troops, making together near 12,000 Men, passed the *Vistula*, and attacked the *Swedes*. These not only defended themselves, but defeated the Enemy, took General *Patkul*, and forced the *Poles* to repass the *Vistula* by swimming.

King *Stanislaus* arrived at *Warsaw* some Days after this Action, as did also the King of *Sweden*; and the Coronation soon followed.

Before he set out from *Ravitz* for *Warsaw*, the King of *Sweden* ordered Count *Poniatowski* to select two hundred *Swedes*, to form a Body-Guard for King *Stanislaus*, under Command of that Count.

While the Ceremony of the Coronation was performing at *Warsaw*, the Czar assembled his Troops at *Grodno*, in Conjunction with King *Augustus*. The King of *Sweden*, being informed of this, marched with King *Stanislaus*, in the Depth of Winter, to attack them.

The *Muscovites* had fortified themselves at *Grodno*, and entrenched up to the Teeth. Forty thousand Infantry, supported by the Presence of two Monarchs, were there shut up. But the Czar and King *Augustus* retired, at the unexpected Approach of the King of *Sweden*, and left all their Infantry to themselves.

The King of *Sweden* came before the Place two Days after; but the severe Frosts, and such a numerous Garrison, on the one Hand, and a precipitate March, which had extremely fatigued the *Swedish* Troops, added to the Want of Provi-

sions, on the other, obliged *Charles XII* to put into Quarters, and disperse his Troops for twelve Leagues round, in expectation of a more proper Season for the Attack.

No sooner did it begin to thaw, but the *Muscovites* decamped from *Grodno*, and took their Route, by long Marches, through *Polesia* towards *Volbinia*; a Way that was crossed by many Rivers, and full of almost impassable Morasses.

The King of *Sweden*, having received Information of it, pursued them, not without incredible Pains, in a Season so disagreeable that his Men marched up to their Knees in Mud. He pierced quite into *Volbinia*; but, seeing his March was fruitless, and that, in a Country so vast, his Pursuit would have been endless, he made a Halt there to repose his Troops, which were extremely fatigued. He came up at last with the Rear-Guard of the Enemy, and defeated it; but the Gross of their Army escaped. It was here he took the Resolution, in order to put an end to the War, to march directly into *Saxony*.

This Project was executed, after a faint Opposition from the *Saxons*, in which they were defeated. It was this that obliged King *Augustus* to send two of his Ministers, *Imhoff* and *Fingstein*, to the Conqueror, to sue for Peace, which was granted him on very heavy Conditions, that are known to all the World. General *Schullenbourg* had been just before defeated by Count *Reinschild*, who staid behind in *Great Poland* with a Body of 8,000 Men.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 199. *English* Translation, 123.

Charles had given his Word in 1700, not to intermeddle in the War of *Lewis XIV* with the Allies.
But

But the Duke of Marlborough did not believe there was a Prince so much a Slave to his Word, as not to sacrifice it to his Grandeur and Interest.

R E M A R K.

CHARLES XII, having learned the Uneasiness of the Duke of Marlborough, on his being unable to discover whether that King's Intentions were to unite with *France*; his Majesty ordered Baron Gortz to tell the Duke, that he remembered his Word given in 1700, and that the Time was not yet come for him to meddle with their War.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 215, 216. English Translation, p. 133.

The King of Sweden, in the midst of his victorious March, received a solemn Embassy from the Turks.—The Ambassador presented Charles with an hundred Swedish Soldiers, who, having been taken by the Calmucks, and sold into Turkey, were redeemed by the Grand Seignior, and now sent by that Emperor to the King, as the most agreeable Present he could make him.

R E M A R K.

HERE the Author is mistaken: For it was not the *Turkish* Ambassador, who presented the King with Slaves made by the *Muscovites*; but it was the King of *Sweden*, who, when he had taken *Leopol*, found there an hundred *Turkish* Slaves, taken formerly in their Wars with the *Poles*, and gave them their Liberty, a Sum of Money, magnificent Habits, and an Escorte to the Frontiers of *Turkey*.

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The *Turkish* Ambassador offered the King an Alliance with his Master. But, whether that Prince thought himself sufficiently strong alone to finish his War with the Czar, or whether he was persuaded, by the Representations of the Clergy about him, that it was not proper to make an Alliance with the Enemies of Christianity, he contented himself with sending back the Ambassador loaded with Presents, without giving him a Word of Answer to his Propositions.

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 233, 234. *English* Translation, p. 144.

They found a Body of Muscovites advancing towards the other Side of the River. The King was astonished; but resolved immediately to pass the Desna, and attack the Enemy. The Banks of this River were so steep, that they were obliged to let down the Soldiers with Cords. — The Body of Muscovites, which arrived at the same Time, were not above eight thousand Men; so that they made but small Resistance, and this Obstacle was also surmounted.

R E M A R K.

TWENTY thousand *Russians* were entrenched on the Banks of the said River, which were very marshy. The King passing over on Foot, at the Head of his Regiment of Guards, attacked them, forced their Entrenchment, and drove the Enemies quite into a thick Wood, which lay behind them.

As the *Swedes*, in passing the River, could preserve no more than that one Charge which was in their loaded Fusils, the Rest of their Ammunition being so wetted, that they could not use the Powder; it was with Sword in Hand, and at the Pike's End, that they fought. In this Action,
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the greatest Part of the Officers being killed or wounded, the King seeing Count *Guldensterna* fall, the only Officer that commanded a Battalion, put himself at the Head of it, Sword in Hand, and charged the Enemies Battalions.

Upon this the Soldiers cried out aloud, begging the King to retire; assuring him, that they would perform their Duty by themselves: But that Prince would not listen to them, and finished the Victory by his own Valour and Intrepidity.

Prince *Menzikoff* was come up with ten thousand Dragoons, to support the Infantry. An hundred and fifty of the King of *Sweden's* Drabans, a Squadron of an hundred and twenty five Horse of the Regiment of Cuirassiers, and a Squadron of the Body Dragoons, which had found a Passage at some Distance, attacked Prince *Menzikoff*, ranged as he was in Order of Battle, so briskly, that they broke his Ranks, and drove him into the Wood.

In this Action fell General *Wrangel*, Commander of the Drabans, sixty five of his Men, a hundred Dragoons, and as many of the little Troop of *Swedish* Horse; having the Glory, in Death, to have beaten and drove before them so many thousand Enemies.

But such Actions as these were nothing new among the *Swedes*. Count *Reinschild*, for Example, being then in the Palatinate of *Sandomir*, detached Major *Wolffrath* with three hundred Cavalry to the Distance of a League and a half from the Army. Some thousands of the *Saxon* and *Polish* Troops, who had agreed to try their Fortune on *Reinschild* himself, fell in with Major *Wolffrath*, and quite surrounded him. This *Swedish* Officer, seeing no Possibility of his being succoured, resolved bravely to make his way out of the Enclosure,

closure, in which he was hemmed up. Having divided his Men into small Troops, that he might extend them the more, he fell desperately upon the Enemy's Body, had the good Fortune to make his way thro' it, and retired to the Camp with a hundred and twenty Men, the rest having been killed; and of these hundred and twenty who came off, there was not one without a Wound, the Major having the same Fate as the rest.

An Action so bold made the Enemy coolly reflect, and retire without attempting any Thing against *Reinschild*. We must do this Justice to the Valour of the *Swedish* Nation, to own, that an Officer needed no more than to look behind him; provided he paid them with his Presence, he was sure of being followed by his Troops in the greatest Dangers.

The King of *Sweden*, with so many fine Qualities, had another yet that was very laudable. He never made an Officer accountable for the Event of an Action; provided he had done his Duty, whether he had beat or was beaten, he was rewarded. Witness Lieutenant-Colonel *Kreyts*, who being commanded, with eight hundred Horse, to some Leagues Distance from *Thorn*, was surprized and defeated by the Enemies, after he had fought well and made a good Defence. At his Return from this Action he was made a Colonel. No Officer was ever advanced, but according to his Merit.

Mr. de *Voltaire's* Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 235, & seq. *English* Translation, p. 145.

General *Levenhaupt* had already passed the *Boristhenes* above *Mohilow*, and was advanced twenty Leagues into the *Ukrania*. — The *Czar* appeared at the Head of fifty thousand Men.

R E.

R E M A R K.

TH E *Boristhenes* about *Mobilow*, does not make the Frontier of *Poland*; the Palatinate of *Micislaw* extends farther, to within some Leagues of *Smolensko*.

The Czar, having passed the *Boristhenes*, set every Thing on Fire, and burned above thirty Leagues of the Country, as well of that belonging to *Poland* as of his own, to deprive the *Swedes* of all Subsistence, and hinder the Pursuit.

After some Days March, not one of which passed without some Action with the Enemies, which had no other Effect than to lessen the Number of the *Swedes*, though the Advantage was always on their Side, the King being absolutely destitute of Provisions, was obliged to slacken a Pursuit that would have entirely ruined him, and took the Resolution to turn back, in order to throw himself into *Muscovite Ukania*, a fertile and plentiful Country; especially as he had a good Understanding with *Mazeppa*, General of the *Cossacks*, who promised, by a private Correspondence which he kept up with the King, to submit to him, with all his Country, and favour his Expedition.

As the *Ukania* is separated from *Poland* by the River *Sossa*, and a very thick Forest about thirty Leagues in length, intersected with a Number of Morasses, the King ordered out a Detachment of five Thousand Men, under the Command of Major-General *Lager-Crona*, his Aid-de-Camp General, with the Flower of the Subaltern Officers, to advance before the Army, make a Bridge upon that River, open the Passage of the Forest, and hasten to take Possession of a Post called *Poczop*, the only Way by which his Enemies could penetrate into *Ukania*. But this General,

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by a Fatality of one Side, and by his own Fault and Negligence on the other, not having taken sufficient Care to furnish himself with good Guides; this General, I say, after having passed the River, instead of marching towards *Poczop*, took, at the Entrance of the Forest, a quite contrary Way, above thirty Leagues to the Right.

Some Days after, the King, being arrived at the Entrance of the Forest, perceived the Fault of *Lager-Crona*: But supposing that he should somewhere find a Way out, he followed the right Road, which led towards *Poczop*, not without a Thousand Difficulties, being obliged to stop every Moment, to make Bridges, and fell the Trees that blocked up the Way. Ten most laborious and fatiguing Days March entirely ruined the Cavalry, and the greatest Part of the Baggage was swallowed up. The Horses had nothing to live on but the Leaves of Trees, nor the Men but a little Biscuit and Roots.

When they came out of the Forest, three Hundred Horse of the first Regiment of Cavalry were commanded to seize the said Passage of *Poczop*. But the *Muscovites*, perceiving the King's Design, prevented us, and detached a large Body of their Army, who floated all the Country, and secured the Fidelity of the Inhabitants.

The King, seeing himself under a Necessity of giving his Army Rest, and being willing to wait for News of General *Lager-Crona*, made a Halt for fifteen Days at the first Villages he met in his Way, in which his Men found a great Abundance of Grain, and Plenty of Cattle, but not a single Man; the *Muscovites* driving away the Inhabitants of all Places through which the *Swedes* were to march.

The Author speaks of Propositions of Peace,
 * made by the Czar: But it was while the King
 was yet in Saxony, that a *French* Officer, named
Morel de Carriere, a Colonel in the Czar's Service,
 made the Propositions he speaks of ; offering the
Swedish Monarch all Satisfaction, except that the
 Czar would keep *Petersburgh* and *Wiburgh*. The
 King would have accepted these Propositions, on
 Condition that *Petersburgh* should be entirely
 razed, because he had in reality a Design to lend
France a Hand, when the Time of his Promise
 made to the King of *England* was expired. But
 the Czar, having in view the Establishment of a
 Marine ; and the King, on his Part, seeing the
 Danger of that Establishment, and that the Czar,
 who could build Ships with much more Faci-
 lity than himself, would become Master of the
Baltic Sea, and render his Navy superior to
 that of *Sweden*, he could never consent to leave
 in his Hand those two Places which I have just
 now mentioned.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 239, &c. *English* Trans-
 lation, p. 147.

Levenhaupt, after having sustained five Battles
 against fifty Thousand Enemies, swam over the Soffa,
 followed by the five Thousand Men he had left alive,
 of whom the Wounded were carried over on Floats.
 The Czar lost above twenty Thousand Men in these
 five Engagements, in which he had the Glory of
 conquering the Swedes, and Levenhaupt the Reputa-
 tion of disputing the Victory, and of retreating with-
 out being broken at last. He then came to his Master's
 Camp, &c.

* Pag. 224. Of the Translation, p. 138.

R E M A R K.

TH E R E might be a great many Observations made in the Interval between the last Remark and this : But, as they are not of any great Consequence, we pass them over, to come to General *Levenhaupt*, who, after his Action with the Czar, falling into the Forest upon *Lager-Crona's* Rout, followed and came up with him.

The King at last had some Tidings of *Lager-Crona*, and march'd to join him, being always engaged with the Enemy in slight Skirmishes, without any decisive Action.

M. de *Voltaire's* Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 239, 240—246. *English* Translation, p. 152—158.

The King of Sweden saw himself thus without Provisions, his Communication with Poland cut off by Enemies who surrounded him, in the midst of a Country where he had no Resource but his Courage. In this Extremity, he did not assemble a Council of War, as many Relations have given out ; but, in the Night between the 7th and 8th of July, he sent for Field Marshal Renschild into his Tent, and ordered him, without Deliberation, and without Uneasiness, to prepare to attack the Czar the next Morning. Renschild did not dispute his Master's Will, but went out with a Resolution to obey him. Then follows the Description of the Battle, which may be read in the Author.

R E M A R K.

IN this Manner they found themselves advanced into the Enemy's Country. The small Cities and Villages being pretty distant from one another, it was necessary a little to extend the Quarters,

ters, in order to subsist the Troops. General *Daldorf*, with two Regiments of Foot, was at *Hadziacz*, above six German Leagues from the rest of the Army. The *Muscovites*, thinking to surprize and carry him off, advanced by very long Stages ; and the King, without reflecting on the excessive Cold, marched to support him. This March very much ruined his Army. During three whole Days in which they were exposed to the Inclemency of the Weather, not only the Men, but the Horses, the Cattle, and even Birds, died with Cold. The Soldiers, however, did not want either Coats or Hose, as some Body has made our Author believe.

The Day that the King was wounded, the *Muscovites* began to pass the River *Worskla*, two Leagues off of *Pultowa*. There Field-Marshal *Reinschild* committed an unpardonable Fault : For, having all his Cavalry ranged in order of Battle, nothing was more easy than for him to cut off the Enemies in the River, in proportion as they came over ; whereas, without striking a Stroke, he let them pass, and intrench themselves up to the Chin. All the Reason he gave for this was, that he was unwilling to run any Hazard, for fear of exposing the King's Person ; and that he thought it the safest Way to draw up the Troops, and cover his Majesty's Quarters.

The King was very angry at the superfluous and ill-timed Precautions of the Field-Marshal ; but, not being able himself to examine the Situation of the Ground, nor to make any Disposition thereon, he was obliged to leave all to his General.

In the mean Time the *Muscovites* intrenched themselves ; and advancing by Degrees, hemm'd us in with Lines and Redoubts, continuing to do so for seven Days. The King, though very ill
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of his Wound, had Word brought him of the State of Things ; and not thinking it proper to be blocked up by the Enemies under the Cannon of their Fortrefs, determined with himself that it was necessary to give Battle, and attack the Enemy, without waiting to be attacked by them. His Orders were given the same Evening, and the whole Disposition made.

Two thousand Men guarded the Trench ; twelve hundred Dragoons were with the Baggage: Those who had been detached three, four, or five Leagues off, to procure Provisions for the Army, amounting to about fifteen hundred Horse, continued where they were. Field-Marshal *Reinschild*, who was divided a League from the general Quarters, was to be ready a Quarter of an Hour before Day, at the right Wing of the Enemies, to fall on their Flank, at the same Time that the Infantry attacked them in Front. Four and twenty Men were ordered to carry the King in his Litter, that they might relieve one another.

Three Hours before Day, the King marched with his Infantry, and finding himself at first Dawn of Day precisely within Musket-Shot before the Enemies Lines, who were at work with all Diligence, he attacked them, and forced several Redoubts at the Head of those Lines. After an Action of above an Hour, not without very great Loss, the Enemies gave Way, and began to retire, and the *Swedes* to pursue them.

The *Swedish* Cavalry, having mistook their Way in the Night, did not come up till after the Enemies had given Way.

Now there happened another Misfortune. Major-General *Roos* remained upon the Field of Battle, with six Battalions, to keep Possession of several Redoubts which the Enemies had abandoned, and in which there were some Cannon. In the

the mean Time, the Field-Marshal *Reinschild* rode up, and made the Infantry halt, to give Time for General *Roos* to rejoin the Army. The Cavalry, which had not yet been engaged, kept, as it had marched, in Columns, making the second Line. This unfortunate Halt occasioned the Enemies to halt too, and gave them Time to recover from the Disorder in which they had retreated towards the River, to repass it. When they came to themselves, and found they were pursued but by a Handful of Men, in Proportion to their own numerous Troops, they began to form themselves, and range in Order of Battle, and to put themselves in Motion towards the *Swedes*.

The King, heartily vexed to see the Battle interrupted, when it was already more than half gained, and observing the Motion of the Enemies, sent, Time after Time, to the Field-Marshal, to demand the Reason why he continued so still, while the Enemies advanced on them? But this General, who on other Occasions had shewn both Prudence and Valour, was so at a Loss here, that he did nothing but run from one Side to the other, without giving one necessary Order. He came at last up to the King, to tell him that the Enemies advanced, and that he was going to attack them; to which the King answered, that 'it being impossible for him to act himself, he left him at Liberty to do what he thought proper. But, added he, the Loss of Time does us a great Prejudice.' Upon this the Field-Marshal left the King, and made the Infantry wheel about to the Right, in order to face the Enemy, whom he advanced to attack, without ranging his Cavalry on his Wings to extend his Line, and hinder their falling upon him in Flank.

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The *Muscovites*, taking the Advantage of the *Swedish* General's wrong Disposition, through Means of that recovered the Day ; and, after one or two Discharges, intirely furrounded the *Swedish* Infantry, leaving the Horse to straggle to the Right and Left in Disorder.

In the Attack of the Enemies Lines and Redoubts, the Litter, in which the King was carried, was both shattered and repaired again under their Fire. Of the twenty-four Men who were selected to carry it, only three were left alive, and they were obliged to put two Horses in their Room. The King all the while followed the Order of the Battle, and was often at the Head or in the Midst of the Battalions. When the Action was renewed, and the Infantry were all hemmed in, his Majesty was in the same Situation as the rest.

I leave to the Author the rest of the Relation of the Battle, and will only remark, that the *Swedes*, in this Action, did not amount to above fourteen thousand Men, exclusive of those who remained in the Trenches, with the Baggage, &c. The Czar had above fourscore thousand of regular Troops, with a Train of a hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon ; whereas the *Swedish* Artillery was with the Baggage, they having no Ammunition to supply it.

The King of *Sweden's* Retreat towards the *Boristhenes* was not so precipitate as has been pretended. Those who escaped from the Battle with his Majesty, the Detachment that guarded the Baggage, the Train of Artillery, and most of the Country People who had furnished his Army with Provisions, composed this Retreat. Their first March was only two Leagues, to *Schandarrow*, where lay *Meyerfeldt's* Regiment of Dragoons, to form a Magazine of Provisions. Here they rested
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all Night; and the next Day marched only three Leagues to *Bielki*, to pick up five hundred Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk*, who had been also detached in order to get in Provisions. They had two Days March more to the *Boristhenes*, which they made pretty much at their Ease, and without any great Hurry; so that the King did not arrive on the Banks of that River till the fourth Day after the Loss of the Battle. It was there that the greatest Part of the *Swedish* Cavalry came up with us.

The real Cause and Ground of this slow March, was, amongst other Things, the King's Magnanimity; which induced him to give Time to the Country People, who were with his Baggage on the Day of the Battle, to retire by Degrees, to cover them as he went along, and prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Muscovites*.

When they were on the Bank of the *Boristhenes*, the King got Information from *Mazeppa*, which was the Road that led towards the *Crimea*, and which went to *Bender*; and was in some Doubt which of them to chuse.

His Inclination was to take the former, in order to rest his Troops, and because there was only one small River to cross that Way: But *Mazeppa's* Advice determined him for the other. As he pretended to know the Country, and computed only five Days Journey across the Desert, before they arrived on the Frontiers of *Poland*, this made the King alter his Intention, and resolve to take that Route. But, as all could not pass the *Boristhenes*, they having but one Boat made of a hollowed Tree, the first Care was to convey over the King, *Mazeppa*, and his Escorte of three hundred Horse, the Wounded, and the rest of the Drabans. The King made *Mazeppa's* Cossacks pass over first.

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As for the Cavalry, and the rest of the Men escaped from the Battle, it was the King's Design to send them towards the *Crimea*. He ordered before him the two Generals *Levenhaupt* and *Kreutz*, and told the first, that he must follow him, as a Man proper for any Service, and therefore very necessary in their present Situation; that he knew his great Capacity, either for War or for the Cabinet. To *Kreutz* he left the Conduct of all those who could not pass the *Boristhenes*, with Orders to march towards the *Crimea*; to carry with him all the Chests of Money, in order to subsist the Troops among the *Tartars*; to burn the Carriages, and to throw the Cannon into the River.

He chose to give this Command to General *Kreutz*, because, besides his Valour, which his Majesty well knew, he was sure in him of a blind Obedience to his Will, and that he would follow his Orders exactly according to the Letter.

But Count *Levenhaupt*, having so many gallant Actions before his Eyes, and having had the good Fortune to beat the *Muscovites* several Times, solicited warmly that his Majesty would confer on him this Command. The King could not refuse his Request, and so left these two Generals with the Cavalry, and the other Remains of the Army.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 261. English Translation, p. 161.

While the shattered Remains of the Army were in this Extremity, Prince Menzikoff came up with ten thousand Horse, having each a Foot-Soldier behind him.—The Prince sent a Trumpet to the Swedish General, to offer him a Capitulation. Four General Officers were immediately sent by Levenhaupt,

haupt, to receive the *Laws of the Conqueror*.—The *Capitulation* was settled, and this whole *Army* were made *Prisoners of War*. Some of the *Soldiers*, grown desperate at their falling into the Hands of the *Muscovites*, threw themselves into the *Boristhenes*. Two *Officers* of *Troutfetre's Regiment* killed themselves upon the Spot. The rest were made *Slaves*.

R E M A R K.

SCARCE had the King passed the River, before Prince *Menzikoff* appeared at the Head of fifteen thousand Men, with a great Sound of Drums, Kettle-Drums, and Trumpets; willing to have it thought, that the whole *Muscovite Army* was in pursuit of the Vanquished. He immediately sent a Summons to the *Swedish General*, requiring him to surrender at Discretion; ordering him to be told, that the Czar his Master was arrived, with all his victorious Troops; that he had it in his Option either to perish or submit; and that, if he did the latter, they might perhaps shew him some Favour.

If *Levenhaupt* had been informed of the Number of the Enemies, he would without Doubt have given them Battle: But, contrary to the common Rule and Custom among the *Swedes*, he called together the Colonels and Officers of superior Rank, to hold a Council of War upon the Course they had to take. The Opinions were divided: Some were for fighting, others for capitulating; and the Plurality of these latter carried it.

General *Kreutz* was sent to the Camp of the *Muscovites*, to conclude the Articles of Capitulation. When he appeared before *Menzikoff*, and saw that the whole Army was not there, he consented at once to all that the *Muscovite General*

demanded. But, his Eagerness to return to his Troops, and the Facility with which he set his Hand to every Thing, occasioned some Reflections in the Mind of a rascally *Swedish* Captive, who was in Prince *Menzikoff's* Train. He remonstrated to the Prince, that *Kreutz*, instead of standing to the Capitulation, would cause the Troops to advance ; and that the *Russians* would be infallibly beaten, as they were not strong enough to oppose the *Swedish* Cavalry, which had never yet been engaged. These Reflections prevailed on *Menzikoff* to retain General *Kreutz*, and send Officers of his own to *Levenbaupt*, who concluded the Articles of his Capitulation, and his Captivity.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 266, & seq. *English* Translation, p. 164, 165.

Charles XII had lost in one Day the Fruit of nine Years Pains, and almost a hundred Battles. He fled in a wretched Calash—across a Desert, where they found neither Huts, Tents, Men, Animals, nor Roads. Every thing was wanting there, even to Water itself. 'Twas then the Beginning of July: The Country is situated in the 47th Degree: The dry Sand in the Desert made the Heat of the Sun the more insupportable: The Horses fell by the Way, and the Men were ready to die with Thirst. Count Poniatowski, who was a little better mounted than the rest, advanced before them into the Plains; and having spied a Willow, he judged there must be Water nigh: He searched about till he found the Spring. This happy Discovery saved the Lives of the King of Sweden's little Troop.

R E M A R K.

WHILE *Levenhaupt* was capitulating, the King, persuaded that his General was retiring towards the *Crimea*, rode away from the River, and marched the rest of the Day, and all the Night, under the Guidance of *Mazeppa's* People.

Prince *Menzikoff* sent General *Wolkonski*, with six Thousand Men, in pursuit of him. *Wolkonski* made his Horses, as the *Swedes* had done, swim over the River, and used the same Boat as they did for himself and his Men.

As it was late before he got over all his People, he followed the Track of a sick Officer's Calash, and so lost the Route that the King had taken. When he came up with this unhappy Officer, he revenged on him his own Mistake: But this Hindrance and Loss of Time was advantageous to the King in his Retreat, which he continued without stopping all the next Day.

This March was by so much the more fatiguing, as the Guides, having lost the Position of the Place, and not being able to find the East, did not know themselves whereabouts they were, in the midst of a Desert where both Men and Horses were ready to die with Thirst.

Count *Poniatowski*, &c. as the Author has related.

M. de *Voltaire's* Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 267, & seq. *English* Translation, p. 165, 166.

After five Days March the King found himself upon the Banks of the—Bogh—on the other Side of which is the little City of *Oczakow*, a Frontier of the Turkish Empire. — The King sent to demand a Passage over. — In the mean Time the Muscovites,
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after having passed the Boristhenes, pursued the King with all possible Speed. He had scarce passed the Bogh in the Turkish Boats, before his Enemies appeared, to the Number of almost six Thousand Horsemen; and his Majesty had the Misfortune to see five Hundred of his little Troop, who had not been able to get over time enough, seized by the Muscovites on the other Side of the River. The Bashaw of Oczakow asked his Pardon for the Delays, which had occasioned the taking of these five Hundred Men Prisoners. — The Commander of Bender — sent an Aga to compliment the King, and to offer him — the Conveniences requisite to conduct him with Magnificence to Bender.

R E M A R K.

AFTER three Days March, it was perceived that the Passage of the River *Hippanis*, at this Day the *Bogh*, was impracticable in the Desert; they having no Boats, nor the Means of making any; besides that they must have starved while they were about it. *Mazepa's* Opinion was, that the King should make the best of his way towards *Oczakow*, where, being succoured and assisted by his pretended Friend the Bashaw of the Place, as he expected, they might surmount the Difficulty of the Passage. It was resolved to follow this Advice.

The King employed Count *Poniatowski* to go with all Expedition to *Oczakow*, in order to remove, with the Bashaw, all the Obstacles that might lie in their Way, and to prepare every Thing for his Majesty's Passage. *Poniatowski*, having furnished himself with Guides, rode full Speed towards the Banks of the *Bogh*, at the Place where that River falls into the *Black Sea*; but he could see neither *Oczakow*, nor any Means of passing over.

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At last, after riding and looking almost all Day, he discovered on the Sea-shore five Men gathering of Salt. But these Fellows, when they saw Men on Horseback coming towards them, got into their Boat, and put out to Sea.

After having called after them a long Time, and used abundance of Intreaties, shewing them Money, he prevailed upon them at last to come to Shore, and treated with them for a Passage over the River, on the other Side of which he could see some People got together, without distinguishing what they were, the River being very broad at that Place.

The Boatmen had Arms with them, and looked very much like Highwaymen. Those on the other Side were *Turkish* Slaves, who were hewing Stone for the Fortifications of *Oczakow*.

When *Poniatowski* got over, without his Horse, he found he had four *German* Leagues to *Oczakow*. It was very fortunate that he had with him a *Tartar*, who spoke *French*. By Means of this Man, after a Thousand Difficulties, he found a Horse, and rode to *Oczakow* on a full Gallop before Night.

He was stopp'd in the Suburbs by the *Turkish* Guard ; and in spite of all his Representations of the Necessity he was under of speaking to the *Bashaw*, he was obliged to pass the Night with Impatience, and to wait till nine o' Clock in the Morning for the getting-up of this *Turkish* Lord, who at last came into a Garden without the Town to give him Audience.

The Count did all in his Power, to persuade this Governor to let him have Boats for bringing over the King. But, seeing his Rhetorick had no Effect, he had recourse to solid Arguments ; and, by the Mediation of two Thousand Ducats, which

which he gave him upon the Spot, the Bashaw became more flexible, and Persuasion began to take Place.

They agreed that the *Turks* should send over five Barks with Provisions ; that the *Swedes* should buy those Provisions ; and that, at the same Time, they should bring back with them the King and his Retinue.

As soon as this Convention began to be put in Execution, and *Poniatowski* saw the Barks set sail, he made all Haste to inform the King of it, and repassed the River in the Place where his Boat waited for him. He found his Majesty just arrived on the other Side of the River, and gave him much Pleasure with his Relation.

One of the five Barks soon arrived, and its Cargo was sold for almost the Weight in Gold : But instead of pushing a-shore to take any Body in, the Men immediately put out again towards the Middle. The others would have done the same ; but the *Swedes* seized them by force, put the *Turks* fairly on shore, and began to pass over just as *Wolkonski* arrived, who found three Hundred *Swedes* and *Cossacks* left behind, and made them Prisoners. The King himself had been taken, if he had staid an Hour longer.

The Governor of *Oczakow* came to meet the King, and prayed his Majesty to advance near the City, that he might be better furnished with Conveniences. The King did so, and rested there one Day.

Here a *Turkish* Officer of the Household of *Jussuff*, Bashaw-Seraskier of *Bender*, came to compliment the King in the Name of the Seraskier ; offered him some Refreshments, with a small Tent to sleep in ; and invited his Majesty to pass on to *Bender*, where he would be better situated than at *Oczakow*. The King accepted his Offers, ordered

ordered a Thousand Ducats to be given him for his Pains, and took the Road of *Bender*.

The Seraskier's Attention to procure all manner of Conveniences for the King, was extraordinary. They found on the Road Chariots and Horses to be lett. Every Station was a kind of Market, where all Sorts of Provisions, Clothes, &c. were sold ; with Orders not to exact an excessive Price, and to take such Money as they had.

At the Distance of two Days Journey from *Oczakow*, there came a Man to compliment the King from the Kan of the *Tartars*, bringing with him Refreshments, and a fine embroidered Tent. The Han's Emiffary was entertained in the same Manner as the Bashaw's. At the Distance of one Days Journey from *Bender*, three Hundred of the Seraskier's Light-Horse came to meet the King, and to escort him.

When his Majesty arrived at the Banks of the *Niefter*, which runs by *Bender*, he was saluted by all the Artillery of the Castle. The Seraskier, at the Head of his Garrison, came over the *Niefter* on Foot, desired the King to alight, and received his Majesty in a superb Tent, which he offered him to repose in.

The next Day he brought the Keys of the City, and the Castle ; inviting his Majesty to take up his Residence there, and to give his Orders, which should be absolutely obey'd. In a Word, never was there seen a *Turk* more open, more polite, and more diligent. The King, at his Persuasion, crossed the River, and took up his Camp under the Cannon of the Fortrefs, without accepting the Bashaw's Offer of Lodging in the Castle itself.

The Bashaw then regulated, with the Intendant of the King's Household, the Expence for
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the Maintenance of his Retinue, and ordered five Hundred Crowns *per* Day to be issued, to supply them with Provisions. All this was done without Order from the Porte, which however approved of the Bashaw's whole Proceeding.

This good old Man made his Appearance regularly, every other Day, in the King's Tent, to be informed of his Majesty's Health.

The Garrison was most rigorously forbid to insult the *Swedes*, and a severe Order was issued to avoid all Sorts of Quarrels. If any ever happened, the *Turks* were always to blame.

Five Hundred *Janissaries* guarded the King's Camp. The Regularity of his Life, the Simplicity of his Dress, his Abstinence from Wine and Women, a Devotion without Ostentation, publick Prayers twice a Day regularly, attracted the Admiration of the *Turks*, and made his Majesty much revered.

When he was cured of his Wound, and began to take the Air in his Camp, and in that of the *Janissaries* who were ordered for his Guard, one of them came up to him with a little too much Familiarity, clapped him on the Shoulder, and said aloud, 'Why has not Heaven given us such a Master? We should then conquer all the World.'

As soon as he arrived in the *Turkish* Territories, the King immediately resolved to send a Person to *Constantinople*, to thank the Grand Signior for the good Reception he had met with, and the great Good-Manners that were shewn him in his Dominions. But the little Knowledge that the *Swedes* had of the *Turks*, was the Reason that no Man would take upon him that Commission.

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There was found in the King's Retinue, a *Dantzicker*, whose Name was Mr. *Neugebaver*. He had been formerly Preceptor to the young *Czarewitz*, but had left *Russia* without asking Leave. Uneasy on account of his Situation, dreading to fall into the Hands of the *Muscovites*, and soliciting the King continually for Leave to go to *Constantinople*, where he might embark for *Holland*, he offered to take charge of the King's Letter to the Grand Signior, and was immediately dispatched with it.

Upon his Arrival at *Constantinople*, he demanded of the Grand Visir to be introduced to the Sultan, in order to deliver to him the King his Master's Letter, as he had undertaken. The Visir required it himself; telling him, that no Man could ever appear before the Grand Signior, without a publick Character. The *Sieur Neugebaver* continued to insist, on his part, that he would absolutely deliver this Letter into the Grand Signior's own Hands, because the King his Master had commanded him so to do; but his Representation had no Effect.

The *Bashaw* of *Bender*, being informed of the Difficulty that hindered the Admission of M. *Neugebaver*, intreated the King so earnestly to send him a Character, that his Majesty consented to it, and immediately ordered an Instrument, constituting him his Envoy Extraordinary.

Count *Poniatowski*, having the Curiosity to see the Grand Signior's Court, and the Capital of the East, asked the King's Permission for six Weeks, and offered at the same Time to carry the Express to the *Sieur Neugebaver*, that he might thus have an Opportunity of seeing the Ceremony of an Audience. His Majesty gave him leave, on Condition that he should come back at the Time appointed; because he flattered himself, that, in

this Interval, his Wound would heal, and he should have some News from the King of *Poland*, who had remained in that Kingdom with a Body of ten thousand *Swedes*, under the Command of General *Craffau*, and whom he intended to join when he knew where he lay.

Besides the Dispatch for M. *Neugebauer*, Count *Poniatowski* was charged with a Letter of Compliment from the King to the Grand Vizir; in order to procure him an Opportunity to see that Prime Minister of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The Grand Vizir took Pleasure in questioning Count *Poniatowski* concerning the different Actions of the King of *Sweden* against the *Muscovites*, concerning the Forces of *Sweden* by Sea and Land, and whatever else regarded that Nation. He had by his Side a Sea-Captain, a *Swede* by Birth, but a Renegade, in order to know, as it seemed, if Count *Poniatowski's* Relation and Answers were conformable to Truth, and if they agreed with what the Captain had told him. Finding it to be so, he said in *Turkish*, ‘ This Heathen does not know how to lye.’

At the Conclusion of a very long Audience, *Poniatowski* asked Leave of the Grand Vizir to see all the Curiosities of *Constantinople*, the Treasuries, the Palaces, the Mosques, and, in a Word, every Thing that was to be seen. The Vizir told him, that even Ambassadors themselves did not enjoy that Privilege. Upon that Count *Poniatowski* immediately demanded the *Ferman*, that is, an Order for the Post, that he might return, since he could have nothing more to tell the King, except he had seen the City and the Marine. The Vizir smiled at this, and ordered a Gentleman of the Court to accompany the Count wherever he had a Mind to go, and to let him see all that he desired.

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This Beginning, and such a favourable Reception of a Stranger, contrary to all *Turkish* Custom, very much surprised every Body. All the Doors were opened to him, and nothing escaped his Curiosity. He rewarded all those liberally who took the Pains to shew him what he wanted to see. This furnished him with useful Informations, and acquired him particular Regard.

In the mean time M. *Neugebaver* had his Audience of the Grand Signior, at which Count *Poniatowski* was present. That being over, he demanded the *Ferman* for his Return. The Grand Visir made him come to his Palace; and asked him with great Politeness, ‘ Why he was in such Hast to leave *Constantinople*?’ Adding, ‘ that they saw him there with Pleasure, and that he must continue longer among them.’ *Poniatowski* laid before him his Master’s Orders; told him the Time of his Permission was already expired; that he must return at the Day appointed, for fear of incurring his Majesty’s Displeasure; and that, unless he was detained by Force, he could not stay any longer at *Constantinople*. The Visir then told him, that since he knew not how to make him stay, he should have the *Ferman* in three Days; but, that he should be glad to speak with him again before his Departure, and to see him dressed as he was when he went through the Streets of *Constantinople*, to view the Curiosities.

On the Day of his Departure, *Poniatowski*, in a *Turkish* Dress, waited upon the Visir, who expressed his Pleasure at the Sight. After much Conversation, the Visir charged him to assure the King of the Grand Signior’s perfect Friendship, and of the particular Attachment which he himself had for his royal Person: That he prayed his Majesty not to be in Hast to depart, nor to expose

expose his Person to any Danger: That the Grand Signior had resolved to have him conducted quite to his own Dominions, by what Way he should chuse himself, with an Escorte sufficient for the Security of his Person: That the King's Friendship was precious to his Highness, who was desirous to preserve it.

When Count *Poniatowski* would have got up to take Leave, he made him sit down again, and ordered him to be presented with a large Purse full of Gold; telling him, that he knew the Liberalities he had shewn all over *Constantinople*, and that he was not willing to let him want Money on the Road. *Poniatowski* thanked the Visir for his Care and Generosity, but refused to take the Purse. The Interpreter to the *Porte*, *Mauro Cordato*, who was afterwards Hospodar of *Walachia*, endeavoured to persuade the Count to accept the Offer; telling him, that his Refusal would offend the Grand Visir: But he answered, that Men of a certain Rank, who had the Honour to be near the Persons of Kings, never took Presents from any one whatsoever, except their own Masters.

The Visir wanted to know what they were contending about, and the Interpreter was afraid to tell him. At last the Minister commanded it, and being informed, ordered him to tell *Poniatowski*, that the Present came from the Grand Signior himself. The Count then took the Purse; declaring, that he looked upon it as a very singular Grace from his Highness. At the same Time he took leave of the Visir, made some Presents to that Minister's Domesticks, and set out immediately for *Bender*.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 274--276. *English* Translation, p. 169, 170.

To the most high, most glorious, invincible, and august Emperor of many Empires, King of many Kingdoms, Head and Protector of many Nations; may the Almighty bless and prolong your Reign!

We give Advice to your Imperial Highness, &c.

Charles XII,
Son of Charles XI.

R E M A R K.

THE King of Sweden's Letter never had any such Sense as is here given to it. It contained merely the King's Thanks to the Grand Signior for the good Reception he had met with in his Dominions, and spoke of nothing else.

That Prince, the sworn Enemy of all Flattery, never signed a Letter so full of Vanity and Ostentation.

As he had simply signed, at the Bottom of his Letter, *your good Brother and Friend*, just as if he had writ to a Christian Prince, that Subscription made much Impression upon the Grand Signior's Mind, and had a very good Effect for the King of Sweden.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 278. *English* Translation, p. 171.

Count Poniatowski, a Man equally capable and resolute, insinuating and supple, born with the Talent of persuading and pleasing all Nations, attended the Swedish Embassy, but in a private Capacity, in order to sound the Dispositions of the Constantinopolitan Minister, without being tied up to the usual Forms, and giving too much Ground for Suspicion.

R E-

R E M A R K.

COUNT Poniatowski's first Journey to Constantinople, as has been already observed, was only out of mere Curiosity. But, as the Grand Visir had, at his Departure, by Order of the Grand Signior, made by him several considerable Advances to the King of Sweden, with Promises of Assistance, an Escort, and a real Support; and as the same Visir, being won over by the Czar, began to fail of what he had promised; Count Poniatowski had Orders to repair to Constantinople, and to labour at his Deposition.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 279. *English* Translation, 172.

Poniatowski entered into close Friendship with one Bru, a Frenchman, who had been Chancellor to the French Embassy.

R E M A R K.

IT was an old Hungarian Gentleman, named Ferens Houat, a Refugee at Constantinople, and perfectly well acquainted with the Manners of the People, that Poniatowski entered into Friendship with.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 280. *English* Translation, p. 172.

One of those who seconded Poniatowski's Designs with the greatest Abilities, was Fonseca, a Portuguese Physician and Jew, whom I knew very well at Paris, but who was then settled at Constantinople.

R E.

R E M A R K.

It was not a Jew, but a French Renegade, the chief Surgeon of the Seraglio, by Name Mr. Goin.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 231. English Translation, p. 173.

The Grand Visir — said to Poniatowski, giving him a Purse with a Thousand Ducats, 'I will take your King in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, and conduct him to Moscow at the Head of two Hundred Thousand Men.'

R E M A R K.

It was not the Visir before mentioned who spoke thus to Count Poniatowski.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 288 — 314. English Translation, p. 177 — 194.

To dispose the Ottoman Porte to this War (with the Muscovites, Charles XII) detached about eight Hundred Poles and Cossacks of his Retinue, with Orders to pass the Niester, that runs by Bender, and to go and observe what passed upon the Frontiers of Poland. — The Muscovites — fell immediately upon this little Company, and pursued them even to the Territories of the Grand Signior. This was what the King of Sweden expected. His Ministers and Emissaries at the Porte made a great Clamour against this Eruption, and excited the Turks to Vengeance: But the Czar's Money surmounted all Difficulties. Tolstoy, his Envoy at Constantinople, gave the Grand Visir, and his Creatures, Part of the six Millions that had been found at Pultowa in

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the King of Sweden's military Chest. After such a Defence, the Divan found the Czar not guilty. — They even granted to his Envoy such Honours and Privileges as the Muscovite Ministers had never before enjoy'd at Constantinople. — Charles (thus) abandoned by the Grand Visir, and conquered by the Czar's Money in Turkey, as he had been by his Arms in Ukrania, — believed that the Sultan was ignorant of the Intrigues of Chourlouly Ali his Grand Visir, resolved to make him acquainted with them, and Poniatowski undertook this bold Commission. — This old Minister, who had long and faithfully served his Master — was deprived of his Dignity, his Wealth, and his Wife, Daughter of the last Sultan Mustapha, and banished to Caffa — in Crim Tartary. The Bull, that is to say, the Seal of the Empire was given to Numan Cuprougli, Grandson to him who took Candia. — He was deposed, after a Ministry of two Months. — His rigid Probity, they say, was the sole Cause of his Fall. — Achmet reproaching him, that his Predecessor could find other Ways and Means to pay the Troops, he answered ' If he had the Art to enrich your Highness by Rapines, it is such an Art as I esteem it an Honour to be ignorant of.' His Freedom did not cost him his Head. — He had leave to retire into the Isle of Negropont.'

R E M A R K.

AT the Return of Count Poniatowski to Bender, after his first Journey to Constantinople, the King of Sweden, charmed with his Relation, with the magnificent Promises of the Grand Signior by the Mouth of Grand Visir, and the Assurances of that Minister, thought his Glory, his Interest, and the Support of King Stanislaus upon the Throne of Poland, could not be bet-

better provided for, than by a Power so formidable as that of the *Ottoman* Empire.

But the News that the Grand Visir, after all these fine Declarations, had renewed the Peace with the Czar, even after the Irruption of the *Muscovites* into *Moldavia*, and the carrying-off three Hundred *Swedes* in the Territories of the Grand Signior, very much interrupted the Joy of *Charles XII.*

A Misunderstanding, that happened between the *Swedish* Envoy and the Grand Visir, though the Fault of the former, compleatly soured his Majesty's Mind.

The first Mark of Resentment that he shewed to the *Turkish* Minister, was to refuse his Presents, which he had sent along with those that came from the Grand Signior himself. The second was his sending back Count *Poniatowski* to *Constantinople*, with Orders to try all Means to get him deposed.

This Commission was far from being relished by him who was charged with it; especially as the Grand Visir had before taken so much Pains to oblige him. But, to execute the King's Will, it was necessary to forget all the Respect and Civility that the Grand Visir had shewn him; and even to hazard his Life over and over.

The Grand Visir, having broke off all Commerce with the Envoy *Neugebaver*, omitted nothing that might testify his Regard to Count *Poniatowski*, upon his Arrival again at *Constantinople*. The Count, however, was to do his Duty. Such a thorny Negotiation required Abundance of Circumspection, Time, and Intrigue. He set every Spring to work; and at last succeeded. The Grand Visir was deposed and strangled; and Orders were given to make Preparations for

War, without any formal Declaration. *Kou-prouli Numan* Bashaw, a close Friend of Count *Poniatowski*, was made Grand Visir.

This new Minister, whose Name is well known on account of the many Visirs of the same Family, who had performed very great Services to the *Ottoman* Empire, was a Man of most singular Probity. He loved Justice extremely, preferred it to all other Considerations, rendered it to all Mankind without Distinction, and even carried it sometimes to an Excess. To make his Character thoroughly known, I shall insert here some Circumstances that perhaps will give the Reader Pleasure.

He had been made Governor of *Erzerum*. When he went to take Possession of his Government, one of his Retinue used a poor Woman ill, and took from her a Pot of Milk, which was all she had to support her. The Woman complained of it to the Bashaw, with Tears in her Eyes. *Kou-prouli*, having asked her if she should know the Man again who had committed this Violence, ordered all his Domesticks to be called together. The Woman, seeing the guilty Person, pointed him out to the Bashaw : But, as the Fact had passed without Witnesses, the *Turk*, perceiving he could not be convicted, denied it absolutely. *Kou-prouli* then exhorted the Woman to take Care, and speak the Truth ; for if she did not, she should herself suffer what he was now going to inflict on the Person accused. As she boldly assured him that she was not mistaken, he had the Fellow's Head struck off on the Spot ; and having ordered his Stomach to be opened, they found there the crude Milk, it not having yet undergone a Digestion. The Woman was rewarded with the Spoils of the Dead, and sent away in Peace.

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When he was in his Office at *Erzerum*, under the Reign of Sultan *Mustapha*, there was in his Government a *Turkish* Officer, a near Relation of the Mufti, who at that Time was the Grand Signior's chief Favourite. The Business of this Officer was to raise the Imposts on the People. Supported by the Credit of the Mufti, he often exercised his Power with crying Acts of Violence and Injustice, imagining that every Thing he did would be countenanced.

Having borrowed a Purse of Money of an *Armenian*, upon his Note of Hand; when the Time specified was elapsed, the Creditor demanded Payment: But all the Satisfaction he received, was by Way of Menace. He complained of this to the Bashaw, who ordered the Debtor to pay the Money.

The Officer, enraged at the *Armenian's* Audaciousness, that he should dare to complain, ordered five hundred Blows to be given him with a Cudgel, instead of five hundred Crowns; threatening, that if he complained any more, he should have his Brains beat out. The poor *Armenian*, paid in this bad Coin, deplored in Secret his Drubbing and his Loss, without any further Thoughts of demanding Justice.

Some Time after, the Bashaw having met him in his Way, and perceiving that he shunned him, sent a Messenger after him to enquire if he had been paid? The *Armenian* did not dare to say either Yes or No, for Fear of more ill Usage, till the Bashaw commanded him positively to tell the Truth. He did; and when *Kouprouli* heard how he had been treated, he sent immediately and had the Debtor hung up at his own Door, and confiscated all his Effects to the *Armenian's* Profit.

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The Mufti, having heard of his Relation's Death, accused the Bashaw of many Crimes, all of them false, and pronounced Sentence to have him strangled. A Capitzi was sent to *Erzerum*, to demand the Head of the Bashaw, in the Name of the Grand Signior; a Demand, which no Man was ever known to oppose. *Kouprouli* however refused to obey so unjust an Order, and instantly took the Resolution to go himself to *Constantinople*, and make his Defence in full Divan. He did it with so much Success, that his Disobedience was not adjudged to be criminal.

The Mufti, all in Confusion, reserved his Rancour against the Bashaw *Numan* for another Opportunity; but, being massacred, in a short Time after, by the People of *Adrianople*, he had not the Satisfaction to satiate his Vengeance.

This Mufti, having been Preceptor to Sultan *Mustapha* in his Youth, had got so much the Ascendant over his Mind, that he governed him absolutely when he came to be Emperor. He committed with Impunity all Sorts of Injustices and Violences, and was the Cause of his Master's Deposition, so well known for an extraordinary Event.

Kouprouli had a Reputation so well established, that he was sent for to *Constantinople* by Sultan *Achmet*, who had determined to give him his Niece in Marriage. After the nuptial Ceremony, the Sultana was sent home to her Husband's House, with her Bridal Ornaments, and twelve Eunuchs for *Numan's* Seraglio. But this Bashaw sent back the Eunuchs to the Grand Signior. Every one judged from this Refusal, that he was inevitably lost: But, when he was asked the Reason of what he had done, he answered with an extraordinary Greatness of Mind, 'That having married a free Princess, he had no Occasion for Eu-

Eunuchs to guard her: Whereas to the Grand Signior, who had only Slaves in his Seraglio, such a Guard as that was necessary.'

All these Circumstances shew the Genius, and the elevated Sentiments of this great Man; Sentiments that are very uncommon under a *Turkish* Government.

He was no sooner made Grand Visir, but he began to take Measures for the fulfilling the Engagements that had been entered into with the King of *Sweden*, to whom the Grand Signior sent eight hundred Purfes, by way of Loan, without requiring any Security whatsoever.

The Visir sent for *Tolstoy*, the *Muscovite* Ambassador, and told him, that he ought not to take the least Umbrage at the Preparations which he saw carrying on at the *Porte*; that the only Intent of them was to conduct the King of *Sweden*, their Guest, back to his Dominions thro' *Poland*; but, that he should proceed cautiously and securely in that Affair, and would be glad to know if the Czar would not oppose it.

The Ambassador replied, that his Master having nothing to do in *Poland*, would not oppose it there on his own Account: But, that being in Alliance with the King of *Poland*, and under an Obligation, by Treaties, to furnish him with forty thousand well disciplined Men, whenever he should demand them, he believed the King of *Poland* would make use of those Troops to hinder his Enemy's Passage thro' that Kingdom.

The Visir then declared to him, that he would march himself at the Head of the Escorte, and that it should consist of an hundred thousand Men; 'and if, says he, I should think more would be necessary, I will as take many as there Hairs in my Beard; clapping his Hand to his Chin

Chin as he spoke. ' We will pay for every Thing as we pass; we will treat Friends as Friends; but whoever shall dare to oppose us, we shall immediately fall on them as Enemies.'

At the same Time he sent for Count *Poniatowski*, and communicated to him his Conversation with the *Muscovite* Ambassador: After which every Thing seemed to be in Motion for an Expedition.

As he would have in the Troops only chosen Men, and the Body of Janissaries was commanded by an old Officer of very indifferent Reputation, he sent into *Asia* for another Person, to put him in his Place. The old Man having heard this, and being desirous to prevent his own Disgrace, waited on the Grand Signior, and told him, that, as the Grand Visir's Father had deposed his Highness's Father, the Son was now contriving to do the same by his Highness; that he was continually shut up with Men of the Law, to deliberate thereupon; that he was adored by the Populace, and even by the Janissaries; and that his Highness was not sure of sitting a Moment longer on his Throne.

The Sultan intimidated, in this Manner, without distinguishing Truth from Calumny, sent immediately for the Grand Visir, and demanded back the Seal. But, not daring to touch his Life, on account of his great Credit, he saw him that instant put on board a Galley, and sent him to *Negropont*, in Quality of Governor.

After the Deposition of *Kouprouli*, the Government of the City was given to one *Soliman*, a Bashaw of the Divan, with the Title of Kaimacan. He was a *Georgian* by Nation, a Man of a very limited Understanding, very covetous of Riches, and who afterwards sold himself to *Russia*. As he had not Authority enough to decide Affairs of State, every Thing

Thing languished, and seemed to be neglected, without a Visiriate. This continued several Months.

The Credit of Count *Poniatowski* was however very well established : He neglected nothing that his Liberty of acting put in his Power, during this Interval, to keep the Grand Signior fixed in his Resolution of making War against the *Russians*.

All his Intrigues, and underhand Dealings, gave great Uneasiness to the *Muscovite* Minister, who, foreseeing that a War would be unavoidable, endeavoured to corrupt Count *Poniatowski*, who was the first Mover of every Thing. He offered him, in the Czar's Name, a hundred thousand Roubles, with the Post of General of the Artillery, and a considerable Estate in *Ukrania*. But seeing his Offers rejected, and his Labour lost, he tried another Expedient, to get him out of the Way ; which was, to poison him.

One of his Domesticks was seduced into the Plot. They gave him the Poison in a small Phial, and payed him by way of Advance half his Recompence. But, by a particular Providence, the Phial was broke in his Hands, and they were obliged to provide another. In this Interval the Wretch, after some Reflections, repented of his wicked Design, and informed his Master of it ; continuing still to pursue his Engagement with the *Muscovite* Ambassador's People, in order the better to unravel the Affair.

When the second Poison was ready, M. *Tolstoy*, that he might not fail of his Purpose, joined a trusty Fellow of his own with Count *Poniatowski's* Domestick : He was with his own Hand to pour the Poison into the Cup, in which the Servant was to give Coffee to his Master *Poniatowski*. But, the Snares were so well laid, that the Birds were

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taken, and sent to the Great Divan, in order to receive their due Sentence and Punishment.

The Kaimacan did all in his Power to save the Honour of the *Muscovite* Ambassador. He gave out that Count *Poniatowski's* Interpreter was a Calumniator, and treated the Delinquents, who confessed the Fact, and accused themselves, as Liars and Impostors. An *Asian* Judge, being present at the Divan, and seeing so much Partiality, told the Kaimacan, that they could not dispense with doing Justice to all the Parties ; and that they must hear every body, and examine the Fact to the Bottom. He then ordered a Dog to be brought, and made him swallow some of the Poison in Milk. The Dog burst in half an Hour after ; and they could no longer doubt of the Truth of what had been deposed. M. *Tolstoy's* Domestick, who was engaged in the Affair, they condemned for five Years to the Gallies, where he died a Year after : But Count *Poniatowski's* Servant, who, after he had repented of his ill Design, had informed his Master of it, was set at Liberty.

Count *Poniatowski*, not satisfied with this Decree, represented very warmly the Consequences of such a Procedure, and the little Safety there was for Ministers who were justly and honourably inclined. He insisted, that they should send home *Tolstoy*, as unworthy of the Place he filled, and require another Ambassador in his Place. The Mufti, a particular Friend of *Poniatowski*, appeared him ; promising, that in a short Time, there should be no Need either of *Tolstoy*, or of any other in his Room ; and that they only waited the Arrival of him who was designed for the Visiriate.

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Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 314, &c. English Translation, p. 194.

After this the Grand Signior sent to Aleppo for Baltagi Mehemet, Bashaw of Syria, who had been Grand Visir before Chourlouly.—At the Time that this Mehemet was a Servant in the Seraglio, he had the good Fortune to do Prince Achmet some small Piece of Service, that Prince being then a Prisoner of State in the Reign of his Brother Mustapha.—Achmet, upon his becoming Sultan, gave one of his Slaves, whom he had loved very much, to Baltagi Mehemet. This Woman, by her Intrigues, made her Husband Grand Visir. Another Intrigue deposed him, and a third made him Visir again.

R E M A R K.

THE History of *Baltadzi Mechmet* is as follows. Being a Servant to the Prince Sultan *Achmet*, and employed to cut Wood, and bring it to the Fire-Side, the Prince grew familiar with him, and would very often converse with him concerning the News of the City.

One Day the Sultana *Valide*, coming into her Son's Apartment, to pay him her customary Visit, had among her Retinue a *Circassian* Damsel, that very much pleased the young Prince, who abruptly demanded her of his Mother. She refused to give her to him, in Conformity to a Custom established among the *Turks*, which prohibits any junior Prince to propagate his Line. Prince *Achmet* waited the Opportunity of the Visit, which his Brother, Sultan *Mustapha*, paid him from Time to Time, in order to beg the Girl of him. The Sultan's Refusal put him in a Rage: He snatched up a Knife, and offered to stab him: But the Grand Signior avoiding the Thrust, and willing

to use Moderation towards his Brother, persuaded the Sultana *Valide*, who was his Mother also, to marry the *Circassian* out of the Seraglio. This was soon done, and she was bestowed upon the Son of a Physician of the Court. Prince *Achmet*, having immediately heard this News from *Mechmet*, his Wood-cutter, he commanded him to go in his Name to the Bridegroom, and tell him, that if it was his Fortune ever to come to the Empire, and he did not find his *Circassian* a Virgin, he would exterminate him and all his Family. Such a Compliment as this very much frightened the young married Man, and made him become rather the Guardian Eunuch, than the Husband of his Wife.

A little Time after, Sultan *Mustapha* was deposed, and Prince *Achmet* raised to the Throne. His first Thought then was, to make the Confident of his Amour, *Baltadzi Mechmet*, Master of the Horse, and to order him to marry the *Circassian*, upon the Condition he should never touch her. *Mechmet* obeyed, and the nuptial Prize was reserved for the Grand Signior. The *Circassian* became his Mistress, but out of the Seraglio; because she had been already married to a *Turk*, though the Marriage was never consummated.

The Master of the Horse, in the mean time, rose in Dignity. He was made Visir; but his Genius being too narrow, and insufficient to appear at the Head of Affairs, he had the Government of *Aleppo*, which is very lucrative, given him. After the Deposition of *Kouprouli*, the Grand Signior, having no Inclination to make the Campaign himself, and being unwilling to trust the Office of Grand Visir to a Man of Abilities, the Power of that Minister being then become arbitrary; he chose for the intended Expedition

dition *Baltadzi Mechmet* Bashaw, as a Man incapable, for Want both of Genius and Courage, to conspire in the least Degree against his Master.

However, as he knew his Imperfections, he gave him *Osman* Aga, Receiver-General of the Customs, to be his Kihaiia, that he might assist him with his Counsels, both in Affairs of State, and in War. This is a very important Employment in the Hand of a Man who knows how to make the most of it, and to become necessary to the Visir; a Secret which *Osman* was not unacquainted with.

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 318, &c. *English* Translation, p. 196, 198.

The Han of Crim-Tartary, whom we call the Kam, had Orders to be in Readiness with forty thousand Tartars.—This Kam, gained by the Presents and Intrigues of the King of Sweden, got Leave at first that the General Rendezvous of the Troops might be at Bender, under the Eyes of Charles XII, to let him see the better, that it was for his Sake that the War was undertaken.

R E M A R K.

THE Han of the *Tartars* was sent for to *Constantinople* before the Proclamation of the War. At his first Audience he received Marks of the Grand Signior's Favour; a sable Robe, a Quiver, a Sabre, and two hundred Purfes of Silver, for the Service of the Campaign. After that publick Prayers were made, the Horse-Tails were fet up before the Seraglio, and War was proclaimed.

A little before this Proclamation, an Envoy Extraordinary from *Augustus*, King of *Poland*, arrived at *Constantinople*. His Name was M. de *Bakowski*;

Bakowski ; and his Business to bring Advice, according to Custom, of a solemn Embassy from the King and Republick. Count *Chomentowski*, Palatine of *Mazovia*, was charged with that Commission ; and *Bakowski* informed the *Porte*, that he was now preparing to set out from *Warsaw*. The Envoy was received with all the customary Honours; had his Audiences, both of the Grand Visir and the Sultan : Yet, so did *Poniatowski* manage Matters, that, notwithstanding his publick Reception, this very Minister was afterwards sent under a strong Guard to the King of *Sweden*, as a Prisoner, whom his Majesty might dispose of as he thought proper.

This Procedure was not perfectly regular : But the King's Will was obeyed ; and the Credit of *Poniatowski* appeared on this Occasion in its full Extent.

There was not, in this Meeting, any Dispute about the Ceremonial ; nor was it made a Question whether the Troops should assemble at *Bender* or at *Belgrade* ; but they were to march on the Side of the *Danube*, over which Orders were given to the Prince of *Moldavia* to build a Bridge, in a Place called *Gachtzchia*.

The Czar had secret Intrigues with the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, the first of whom went early to join him. The other contented himself with sending his Son-in-Law, and five thousand Men. They both concluded, beforehand, that the *Muscovites* would be victorious.

The Czar had also sent into *Albania* one *Sawa*, a *Ragusan*, formerly Interpreter to the *English*, to raise an Insurrection among the *Greeks* against the Grand Signior. He was himself so confident of his approaching Victories, that he declared he would be buried at *Constantinople* ; which perhaps
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he might have been, without conquering that City, if the Grand Visir had followed the Counsels of Count *Poniatowski*.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, p. 321—338. English Translation, p. 198—209.

The new Visir, Baltagi Mehemet, not being under the same Engagements, (as the Kam of the Tartars) would not flatter a foreign Prince so far. He recalled the Order, and this great Army was drawn together at Adrianople.—As soon as the Grand Visir received the News, that Peter Alexiowitz was marching into Moldavia,—he proceeded to pass the Danube upon a Bridge of Boats near Saccia,—and formed an entrenched Camp.—The Czar ---found himself without Provisions, between the Pruth and an hundred thousand Turks,---In this Extremity he said publicly, ‘ I am at least in ‘ as bad a Situation as my Brother Charles was at ‘ Pultowa.’ --They agreed that it was necessary to sue for Peace to the Turks,---and the Treaty was concluded and signed the 21st of July, 1711.---The King of Sweden, enraged, went directly to the Grand Visir’s Tent, and reproached him for this Treaty.--- ‘ Was it not in your Power, said he, to carry the ‘ Czar Prisoner to Constantinople?--- ‘ And who ‘ should govern his Empire in his Absence?’ answered the Turk. ‘ It is not fit that all Kings ‘ should be out of their Kingdoms.’ ---Charles, full of Indignation,---threw himself down upon a Sopha, stretched out his Leg, and entangling his Spur in the Turk’s Robe, tore it; then rose up immediately, and returned to Bender full of Despair. Poniatowski continued some Time longer with the Grand Visir;---but, it being Prayer-Time,--- the Turk went to wash himself, and attend his Devotion.

R E M A R K.

IT is necessary to know, that the *Turks*, when they make War in *Europe*, always halt for six Weeks at *Adrianople*, either to give Time for the *Asian* Troops to come up, or to put their Horses to Grass, which they pretend enables them the better to undergo Fatigue.

The Grand Visir, who had no more Courage at a Distance than near an Enemy, stopped there, according to Custom, notwithstanding the News he received of the Enemy's having entered *Moldavia*: And he retarded his March as much as possible, to avoid coming to an Engagement with the *Muscovites*; believing, according to the Hospodar of *Moldavia's* Relation, that their Troops amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand Men, and their Artillery to six hundred Pieces of Cannon.

Count *Poniatowski*, manifestly perceiving the Falshood of this Report, represented to the Grand Visir, and his Council, that these Rumours were spread only to intimidate them, and to slacken their March, that the Enemy might have Time to seize the Bridge that had been built upon the *Danube*, and then to besiege *Bender*.

The Solidity and Vivacity of his continual Remonstrances, joined to the Suspicions they began to entertain of the Hospodar of *Moldavia's* Intelligence with the Czar, made the *Turks* resolve to march on; which they did with so much Expedition, that at five Days End the Grand Signior's Armies were on the other Side of the Bridge upon the *Danube*. There the Grand Visir, having heard of the Prince of *Moldavia's* Defection, and found what was the Tendency of his Relations concerning the Greatness of the *Muscovite* Army, returned Thanks to Count *Poniatowski*

atowski for his good Advice, promised him Mountains of Gold from the Grand Signior, and from himself a Present which the *Turks* set a very high rate by ; no less than the Choice of two pretty Girls from among sixty of the handsomest Slaves in his Seraglio, to refresh himself with at his Return to *Constantinople* from the Fatigues of the Campaigns.

The Grand Visir staid there ten Days, to give his Army Repose, and land the heavy Artillery, which had come by Sea. He then sent for the Han of the *Tartars*, to deliberate with him upon the Operations of the War, and intreated Count *Poniatowski* to take a Turn to *Bender*, and invite the King of *Sweden* to their grand Council.

In the mean time, the Czar made himself Master of *Moldavia*. He detached General *Renne* with some Regiments of Dragoons, and the *Wallachians*, to seize *Brabilow*, a Place situated upon the *Danube*, above that where the *Turkish* Army was encamped. His Design, in Appearance, was to build a Bridge there, that he might with more Facility penetrate forwards into the Country, and execute his vast Projects.

Count *Poniatowski* found the King of *Sweden*, at *Bender*, fully resolved to repair immediately to the *Turkish* Camp. His Majesty, however, before his Departure, sent for his great Chancellor *Mullern*, and Privy-Councillor *Feiff*, to ask them, contrary to his usual Custom, their Advice concerning what he intended. These two Gentlemen, tho' otherwise Persons of great Probity ; whether they were piqued against Count *Poniatowski*, because he had not been before-hand with them ; or whether thro' a particular Policy, reserved only for Ministers ; or, lastly, whether it was through a sad Fatality ; represented to the King, that it was not consistent with his Majesty to be present

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among such a haughty and contemptuous Nation, who had so much Regard for external Magnificence, without an Equipage suitable to his royal Dignity ; nor to serve, as a simple Voluntier, in a foreign Army. These Representations, and a thousand other Reasons, gave rise to some Deliberation, and made the King at last alter his Resolution.

Count *Poniatowski* was dispatched, with indigested Excuses, and even with an Order to persuade the Grand Visir to come to *Bender*, in order to concert there, with the King, a general Plan for a lasting War. The Count was extremely mortified at this, as well as at another unlucky Affair that arose afterwards from the same Source. It was, his not having been informed of a Letter which the Grand Signior had writ to the King, upon sending to *Bender* the Envoy of King *Augustus* ; wherein his Highness promises his Majesty, that he will ever be his faithful Ally ; and that, if Heaven blessed his Arms, he would never make Peace with the Czar, except the Interest of the King were equally comprised in it with his own. *Poniatowski* might have made an advantageous Use of such a Letter as this with the Grand Visir, when the Affair of *Pruth* was upon the Carpet.

At his Return to the *Turkish* Camp, he said all that he could think of to excuse his Master for not coming. But the the Grand Visir, turning towards the Han told him, that ‘ this was such an Answer as he expected, and that this haughty *Pagan* would never do them so much Honour.’

From that Moment, Count *Poniatowski* remarked in the Visir a great deal of Coldness towards his Person. However, as this *Turkish* Minister had always found his Account in *Poniatowski's*

zowski's Advice, he continued to make use of that, and had him still called to Council upon the least Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions. The Count, as he perceived the *Muscovites* were advancing, was of the Opinion to go and meet them. His Advice was followed; and, after a March of five Days, the *Turkish* Army arrived at the Banks of *Pruth*, over which it was necessary to erect Bridges.

Scarce had they encamped, when between seven and eight Thousand *Muscovite* Cavalry, under the Command of General *Ogilvi*, appeared, towards Evening, on the other Side of the River, and pitched a much more extensive Camp than was needful for such a Detachment.

The Grand Visir, who had never seen an Army, and was by Nature a great Poltroon, imagined that he should be inevitably lost, if the Enemies came to attack him. Count *Poniatowski*, judging by what they had done that they were only come to reconnoitre the *Ottoman* Army, and that their sole Aim, as well in the Extent of their Camp as in their great Fire, was to impose upon the *Turks* and make them believe that the whole *Muscovite* Army was arrived; concluded that they would retire in the Night, and did all in his Power to encourage the Visir, and persuade him to get the Bridges made with all Expedition.

What *Poniatowski* had foreseen, came to pass: The Enemies Camp disappeared at Break of Day. This animated the *Tartars* and the *Turkish* Van-Guard to swim the River, and follow *Ogilvi*. They came up with him, and took some of his Men Prisoners.

The Visir resolved to lay the Bridges; and so much Expedition was used, that, in twenty four

Hours Time, two of them were finished. Over these the Army began to pass at Break of Day, and was all on the other Side about ten o'Clock in the Morning. The Men discovered a great Ardor for engaging the Enemy: But the Visir, as there was now no River between them, obstinately insisted upon not advancing, and ordered Tents to be pitch'd.

Count *Poniatowski*, on this Occasion, had need of all his Eloquence to urge on the March; especially as he understood, by the Relations of the Scouts who had followed *Ogilvi*, and by the *Muscovite* Prisoners, that the Czar now thought of nothing but retreating. But, as he could not overcome the Wilfulness of the Visir, he told him, that all the Reports that had been brought him were false; that those who had overtook *Ogilvi's* Detachment, and gave out that they had defeated the Enemy's whole Army, imposed on him; and that, if he would let him have five or six trusty Persons, to go with him and reconnoitre their Camp, he would give him an exact Account of their Situation, and inform him what was necessary to be done.

The Visir, to get rid of his Importunities, granted his Request; and away *Poniatowski* rode full speed. He returned immediately, and redoubled his Sollicitations; offered to answer for the Event with his Head, and ventured to promise that he would put the Czar's Person into the Visir's Hands, if he would but march against the Enemies, who were already at their Wits End, and had been oblig'd to draw up their whole Army in a Square, to defend themselves against the *Tartars* of the *Turkish* Van-Guard: But that if he neglected that single Day, the Enemy, who had but a League from the Place where they were to the Entrance of a Forest, would take Advantage

tage of the Night ; that by this Means the Glory of a Victory would slip out of his Hands ; that it was necessary therefore to hasten the March, before the *Muscovites* could reach the Forest ; that they had not a Moment left for Deliberation, but that he must take his Resolution that Instant. The five *Turks*, who had followed *Poniatowski*, and whom he had instructed to make Remarks upon the Situation of the Enemies, could not avoid giving in a just Report.

The General of the *Turkish* Army, who were present at these Relations, formed from them an advantageous Idea, and great Hopes of Victory ; and, joining all their Persuasions to those of Count *Poniatowski*, they were so powerful, that at last the Grand Visir was obliged to march ; but all the Way threatening *Poniatowski*, that his Head should pay for it, if they did not succeed.

As soon as the Troops were upon the March, the Count put himself at their Head, with the Aga of the Janissaries, and the Visir's Kihiaia his particular Friend. The Grand Visir brought up the Rear, and they all advanced with great Expedition.

The *Muscovites*, upon Advice that the *Turks* were building of Bridges, had ordered three Hundred Foot Soldiers to sail down the *Pruth* in small Boats, and endeavour to break them down, or to burn them. All the Men of this whole Detachment were taken Prisoners, and brought before the Grand Visir ; who made the Army halt, to divert himself with cutting off the Heads of these poor Wretches. Count *Poniatowski*, seeing the Army stop, rode to know the Reason of it. He surprised to behold the barbarous and ill-timed Amusement of the Visir ; and so effectually represented the Enormity of this Proceeding, that
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he saved the Lives of an Hundred and Fifty of these miserable Prisoners, and got the March to be continued.

When they came in sight of the Enemies, and had advanced within Musket-Shot of them, they halted a short Space, to dispose the Attack on the Side they thought proper. But the Janissaries, full of Ardor and good Resolution, kept still advancing, without attending to the Orders; and, setting up a frightful Outcry of *Allah! Allah!* many Times repeated, to invoke the Assistance of God according to their Custom, they fell upon the Enemies Sabre in Hand, and would certainly have forced them in this first and vigorous Attack, had it not been for the *Chevaux de Frise*, which the *Muscovites* had thrown before them.

A general Discharge at the same Time, almost in their Faces, not only allayed the Ardor of the Janissaries, but put them in Confusion, and obliged them to a precipitate Retreat. The Kihaiia and the Aga of the Janissaries put to the Sword those that they met flying, and endeavoured to make the Troops stop, and recover their Order. The most brave among them renewed their Cries, and gave a second Attack: But this was not so vigorous as the first; and the *Turks* saw themselves obliged to retire once more. The Kihaiia then said to Count *Poniatowski*, ‘ My Friend, we run the Risk of being beat, and we shall be so infallibly.’ The Count, having observed that the Enemies made no Advantage of the Disorder caused among the *Turks*, but kept still firm in their Square, gave in Answer, that, ‘ far from being beat, he congratulated him before-hand upon a certain Victory, especially if they did but advance with a little more Order than they had hitherto done, because the

Enemy

Enemy was only on the Defensive.' It begun already to grow dusk, when the *Turks* gave another Attack with the same Cries, and in the same Manner; but this too was ineffectual.

The two *Turkish* Generals, the Kihaiia and the Aga of the Janissaries, uneasy at the small Success of their Attacks, were pacified by the Representations of Count *Poniatowski*, with whom they held a petty Council to consult what they must do. As the Count had continually, ever since they set out from *Constantinople*, inculcated to them the Manner they ought to attack in, and how to form the Order of Battle, he thought they would have conformed to his Advice. But the Kihaiia told him, that if they had the Misfortune to be beat when they followed a new Way of Fighting, the Fault would lie upon them; and that in spite of any Excuse they could make, they should both lose their Heads; he, the Kihaiia, for having followed that Method; and *Poniatowski*, for having advised it. But, added he, 'if we are beat in our usual Disposition, with which we have conquered so many Countries, then Providence alone will be accountable for the Event.'

Count *Poniatowski* then gave his Opinion, that they should enclose the Enemies with a Ditch, to be worked upon all the Night, and wait the Arrival of their Artillery, in order to make use of it at Break of Day; assuring him, that the Cannon alone, of which they had five hundred Pieces, would be sufficient to destroy the whole *Muscovite* Army. The Kihaiia promised to do so, and immediately gave his Orders thereupon; leaving the Janissaries in the same Place where they had begun to attack.

The *Turks* ascribe much to Providence, and strongly believe in Predestination. The Answer which
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one of them gave to Count *Poniatowski*, will give a general Idea of their Sentiments there-upon.

A Gentleman-like Sort of a Man, belonging to the Grand Visir's Court, being extremely well mounted, did nothing but make Excursions during the whole March from *Constantinople*. He every Day tired several Horses. His Skill in managing his Horse, making Use of his Lance, and wheeling about, was admired by every Body, even by Count *Poniatowski* himself, who asked the Kihaiia one Day, What Man that was? He answered, that the Man, besides his great Address, had an extraordinary Share of Courage; and that, having often been a hunting upon the Frontiers of *Persia*, he with his own Hand had killed four Lions.

On the Day of the Attack, this *Turk* followed the Kihaiia in the Action: But he contradicted the good Opinion they had conceived of him, and shewed the utmost Timidity; pulling the Kihaiia continually by the Sleeve, and in plain Terms persuading him to retire. *Poniatowski* remarked his Uneasiness; and, to make the *Turkish* General a little merry, bid him send his *Hector* to hunt Lions, since he could fight nothing but Beasts.

The next Day, Count *Poniatowski* dining with the Kihaiia, and the Conversation falling upon the preceding Day's Action, when much was introduced concerning Destiny, *Poniatowski* made some Remarks upon the false Bravery of the famous Lion-hunter, who was also at Table. But the latter, without discomposing himself in the least, gave this simple Answer: 'How do you know if I was not predestinated to fly Yesterday? Another Time, perhaps, it will be my Turn to pursue.' The Laughters, however, were
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not of my Gentleman's Side. But let us return to the *Muscovites*.

They were certainly in the most scurvy Situation that can be imagined: Surrounded on one Side by the *Turks*, and having the River before them on the other, the opposite Bank of which was guarded by fifteen thousand *Tartars*, *Turks*, and *Poles* of the Palatinate of *Kiovia*, who incommoded them extremely with Volleys of Musket Shot, that they had no Possibility of escaping.

The Night growing very dark, the *Kihaia* and Count *Poniatowski* waited again on the Grand *Visir*, and found him trembling, though he was out of Cannon's-reach. After a short Conversation, *Poniatowski* retired to repose himself in a small Barrack, which his People had pitched near the Grand *Visir's* Tent.

Some Hours after, hearing the Noise of Carts that were not greased, he sent to know the Meaning of it. His Emissary brought him Word, that they were *Muscovite* Carts; but, that he could not well distinguish what they carried. At Break of Day he went to his Friend the *Kihaia*, and told him his Sentiments concerning these Carts: But was answered, that in all likelihood it was the Booty which the *Janissaries*, or some others of the Army, had made. He then asked him, if he would not mount his Horse, to see what was to be done. The *Kihaia* seemed to give his Consent with Pleasure; but told him, that they must first go and see the Grand *Visir*.

At that Instant, the Guard brought an *Aid de Camp* of General *Szeremetoff's*, with a Letter to the Grand *Visir*, in which the *Russian* General, after having affectedly attributed, with much Exaggerations, the Cause of the War to the Czar's Enemies, proposed to come to a Treaty. The

Grand Visir desiring to know Count *Poniatowski's* Sentiments of the Matter, the Count replied that there was no need to give an Answer in haste, nor to capitulate with People whom Necessity had reduced to that Extremity, that they must all surrender Prisoners of War; and that the Attack ought to begin, and the Artillery to play. He then whispered the Kihaiia, and they both went out of the Visir's Tent, and mounted their Horses, to make the necessary Dispositions. They examined the Situation of the Enemies, without firing a Shot on one Side or the other.

The right Wing of the *Muscovites* appeared to be thinner of Men than the left; which extending over a Ground that was somewhat marshy, was consequently less entrenched. *Poniatowski* made the Kihaiia observe this, and obliged him to order the Artillery to begin to play on all Sides, while the Men got ready to make several Attacks at once. At that Moment Word was brought the Kihaiia, that the Visir commanded him to forbear firing, for that the Enemies desired to capitulate, and were just on the Point of sending their Ambassadors. The Kihaiia not daring, as he said, to contradict this, gave Orders, that they should cease firing, and rode up to the *Muscovite* Entrenchments, to see what was doing there.

Count *Poniatowski* made him again remark the Possibility there was of attacking them very easily, and breaking them at the first Shock; their Entrenchments being but very shallow, and full of Water up to their Knees. They all appeared rather Dead than Alive, and the Want of Victuals compleatly made their Situation the worst and most grievous that could be.

When they went round the Intrenchments, three *Muscovite* Officers came out to them, one
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of whom had known Count *Poniatowski* particularly at *Constantinople*. The Count had recommended him to the King of *Sweden*, as a Man fit for his Service. He had even been at *Bender*, where the King made him a present of three hundred Ducats, in recompence for his Good-will, and gave him a Passport to go into *Poland*. This Officer addressed himself to the Count, and told him, that the Czar his Master had sent him, with the other Officer, to sue for Peace; and that the King of *Sweden* might obtain all that he wished for, provided that he, Count *Poniatowski*, would interest himself in the Affair. *Poniatowski*, who thought of nothing but taking the Czar and all his Army Prisoners, reproached the Officer for his Infidelity and Imposture, in that he had made no other Use of his Recommendation to the King of *Sweden*, than just to go to his Enemies: Then went on, without hearing him any further, and, with the Kihai, returned to the Grand Visir's Tent.

That Minister, swelled with Pride like a Toad, asked Count *Poniatowski* 'if he did not admire at the many great Things he had done, before he had been yet a Year Visir?' After a very short Compliment upon his good Success, *Poniatowski* told him, that 'he was well pleased to see his Predictions accomplished; but, that it was now in his Power to get the Czar into his Hands, make all his Army Prisoners, and his whole Country tributary.' The Visir then told him, that he desired to have his Thoughts in Writing; and Count *Poniatowski*, by his Interpreter, had them minuted down in *Turkish*. They consisted but of two Points; '1st. To make the Czar come before him, and send him immediately to the Grand Signior. 2^{dly}. to make all his Army lay down their Arms, and surrender

Prisoners of War. What was to be done further would appear afterwards.' The Grand Visir had them read out aloud, and put them in his Pocket, without saying a Word to them.

Count *Poniatowski* had sent that Day to *Bender*, very early in the Morning, to inform the King of *Sweden* of all that passed. He went immediately out of the Visir's Tent, after the Conversation above, and was told, that the Czar's Plenipotentiaries were coming.

It had been agreed with the Count, that the Visir should not hear these Plenipotentiaries, nor should they be brought before him, but have their Audience in the Tent of *Hummer Effendi*, Secretary of State. This Tent was got ready for that Purpose, and immediately filled with People. But the Plenipotentiaries, instead of alighting there, rode directly to the Grand Visir's Tent, and were introduced by the *Capigi* Bashaw, who had conducted them thither.

As soon as they appeared, instead of meeting with a rough Reception, Stools were called for, in order for them to sit down. This began to put Count *Poniatowski* very much out of Humour. It was natural for them to set forth the Subject of their Mission : But the Grand Visir prevented them with a *Hos Geldy*, which is a very friendly Sort of Salutation, and bid them be seated. Then observing Count *Poniatowski's* Interpreter standing on one Side, he called him, and bid him ask the Plenipotentiaries, ' What they came to do in the ' Grand Signior's Territories?' Adding, ' That ' they had desolated *Moldavia*, and that the Visir ' required Satisfaction, which was the Restitution ' of *Asoph* ; that he wished to have *Taiganrock* ' and *Kamienny-Zaton* demolished ; and that he ' demanded their Artillery.'

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The Plenipotentiaries, surpris'd at all this Lenity, and a Reception that they had no Room to expect, answered, ' That they had paid for what ' they had had in *Moldavia* ; that the Invasion of ' the *Tartars* into their Territories, the preceding ' Winter, had oblig'd them to seek Revenge ; ' that, to preserve the Grand Signior's Friendship, ' the Czar would restore *Asoph*, and raise *Taigan-rock* ; but, that *Kamienny-Zaton* was necessary ' to him, to cover him from the Incursions of the ' *Tartars*.' And as they were afraid, they said, of forgetting some of the Visir's Demands, they prayed them to let them be put in Writing : For which Purpose the Visir sent them into the Secretary's Tent.

As they went out, they asked who that Man was that had serv'd them for an Interpreter ? And being inform'd, that he belonged to Count *Poniatowski*, they protest'd against him, and required to have either the Interpreter of the *Porte*, who was not there, or their own.

While they were in the Tent of the Secretary of State, Count *Poniatowski*, perceiving that the Carts in the Night had work'd their Effect, took Occasion to tell the Grand Visir, ' That with all the Advantages which God had vouchsafed him over his Enemies, it was in his Power to require of them, and to obtain, other Terms than had been propos'd ; that he had the fairest Opportunity of making all *Muscovy* tributary, of sending the Person of the Czar as a Present to the Grand Signior, of making all his Army Prisoners, of getting rid for-ever of so dangerous an Enemy, of serving the King of *Sweden*, and of procuring, to the Sultan his Master, so great an Influence among all Nations, that they would earnestly sue for his Friendship : That, as it now was, he shamefully forgot the Glory of the Empire, and the Interest
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of his Master; that he had two hundred thousand Witnesses of his Actions; and that, if there was not found one among them all, who would bear Witness to the Truth, he, *Poniatowski*, would himself present Petition upon Petition to the Grand Signior, to give him a thorough Insight into all the Actions and Proceedings of the Visir.

The Minister, enraged in the highest Degree at these sharp Reproaches, made in the Presence of so many People, returned very abusive Language, and uttered severe Menaces against the Count, who replied again in the same Strain, and went out.

Half an Hour after, the *Muscovite* Plenipotentiaries returned into the Visir's Tent, and answered his Demands much in the same Terms as before; adding only, that they should want their Artillery to defend them in their March against the *Swedes*, who doubtless would insult them if they saw them destitute of Arms.

Then the Grand Visir, as if just waking from a deep Sleep, told the Plenipotentiaries, that the *Turks* had a Guest among them, the King of *Sweden*, for whom he demanded a free Passage. To which the Plenipotentiaries answered, that they not only granted him a Passage; but that they were ready to carry him upon their Arms. The Visir, hearing this, uttered a loud Exclamation upon the honest Intention of the Plenipotentiaries.

He insisted, however, upon having the Cannon, and Freedom for the *Cossacks*, that their Country might become independent. *M. Szafirov*, one of the Plenipotentiaries, answered, in order to satisfy him, that he might order the Pieces that were in the Army to be told over, and that the Czar would give him the same Number at *Asoph*, and of the same Bore, when that Fortrefs was demo-

demolished; adding, that the Grand Visir was too just to demand *Asoph* in any other Situation, than what it was found in when the *Muscovites* took it; and that he might be sure, that the same Quantity of Pieces should be left there, as were found when it was surrendered by the *Turks*. The Grand Visir, charmed with this Answer, made another Exclamation, and declared that he could not in Justice demand any thing more. Mr. *Szaffirow* then prayed the Grand Visir, that he might depart with these Conditions, in order to get them ratified by his Master. This was granted him; while *Szeremetoff*, the second Plenipotentiary, remained in the *Turkish* Camp.

Count *Poniatowski*, quite in Despair, and sunk deep in Reflection, seeing that it was impossible to bring the Visir to more Reason, resolved to try another Method. For this Purpose he went to the Trench, threw a thousand Ducats among the Janissaries and Train of Artillery, who knew him very well, and animated them against the Grand Visir; telling them, that his own private Interest had induced him to make a shameful Peace, by which he deprived so many brave Men of many Millions, which they must have got by forcing the Enemy's Intrenchments; which they had still an Opportunity of doing, if they would but hearken to and follow him. But, whether they did not care to expose themselves any farther, or that they durst not attempt any thing without Orders, they took the Money, and lamented Count *Poniatowski*, without stirring.

The Count, grieved to the Heart, that this Stratagem had not succeeded, and full of confused Ideas, went to demand Audience of the Grand Visir; who having convoked his Divan, ordered the Count to be told, that ' he would be no longer

longer so passive as he had been ; and that, if he forgot his Respect in the least Particular, he exposed himself to imminent Danger.' *Poniatowski* answered, ' that he had never had a Design to affront the Grand Visir ; that he revered his Dignity ; and that, if he had represented the Truth with a little too much Warmth, he would be more circumspect for the future ; but, that he had Things to say to him of the utmost Importance.' Upon which the Visir, having ordered him in, and told him, ' that the Peace being once made, all his Representations would be in vain ; and that he had nothing to do but to make himself easy, because there should not be a Syllable of the Conditions altered : ' *Poniatowski* answered, ' That he did not come to infringe the Conditions, but to communicate to him some Reflections upon them.

He owned it was true, that he saw with Grief the Czar and his Army escape ; but, that he should be yet more sorry, if the Grand Visir should suffer himself to be deceived through his Credulity : That, having agreed upon the Conditions, it was to be presumed that he had thought of the Means of getting them complied with. ' The Czar, said he, being just upon the Point of having his Liberty, and saving his Army, who can assure the Visir that *Asoph* shall be restored, the other Places demolished, and all the Conditions executed.'

This shrewd Remark struck the Grand Visir and his Council dumb. *Poniatowski* was desired to retire for a Moment, that they might deliberate upon what he had said. The Result of their Deliberations was, that Moment, that they would take Hostages. *Poniatowski* replied, that they were manifestly unacquainted with the *Muscovite* Government ; that the Czar would have very little Regard to his Subjects, even the principal of them,

them, to extricate himself from such a Difficulty as the present ; that they might see this, and be satisfied that what he told them was true, in the frequent Examples of Executions that he made of Hundreds of Men at a Time, upon the slightest Accusations, and even without examining, whether the Charge was true or false.

They then sent out the Count once more, to consider of other Expedients ; and, having called him in immediately after, they told him, that *England* and *Holland* should be Guarantees of the Treaty made with the Czar, as they had been to the Peace of *Carlowitz*. To which *Poniatowski* replied, that they had certainly a wrong Idea of the Treaty of *Carlowitz* ; that those two Powers, in Friendship with the Emperor of *Germany*, seeing the War with the *Porte* become more and more burthensome to him, had then offered their Mediation ; that the *Porte*, finding itself almost in the same Situation, had accepted it : But, that neither of these Powers were Guarantees of the Treaty ; that a Difference was to be made between Mediation and Guarantee ; that the Cases were very different ; that, not to mention that the two Powers were not required, they neither would nor could any way meddle in the present Affair, because, considering the Distance of their Dominions, it never could be in their Power to oblige the Czar to keep the Treaty.

The *Turkish* Council thought to satisfy *Poniatowski*, by telling him, that they would cause the Embassadors of *England* and *Holland* to come from *Constantinople*, and oblige them to the Guarantee. But it cost him no Trouble to shew them the Impertinence of this Thought, when he represented to them, that the Embassadors, not being instructed nor authorised by their
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Masters, would never dare to do it before they had an Answer from their Courts ; and that, besides their being uncertain whether they would have such an Answer as the *Porte* might wish for, the Thing would take up above six Months Time : That while they were waiting for it, the Czar and all his Army would be far enough off, quite out of their Hands, and relieved from the Circumstances of being obliged to keep the stipulated Conditions.

The Visir and his Divan, having nothing more to say in Reply, told Count *Poniatowski*, that his Persuasions were to no Purpose ; that they should not break the Peace in Compliment to his Reasoning ; that they would proceed the next Day to the Ratification, unless he could find other Expedients ; and that, if he had none, he had better keep his Advice to himself, as it tended only to embarrass them. *Poniatowski* answered, that, provided they were not too hasty in the Ratification, the Expedient should be found ; which was that as the *Turks* had room to doubt, if the Conditions of the Treaty would be complied with by the Czar, they ought to give Time to the King of *Sweden* to make his Terms with the Czar also ; and, when that was done, the *Turks* would become Guarantees for the King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Sweden* for them ; and in case the Czar contravened the Treaty, the *Porte* and *Sweden* should take Arms together, and make one common Cause to oblige the Enemy to fulfil his Engagements.

This Expedient seemed to hit their Taste. They ordered the Count immediately to form a Project upon the Plan of it, and even for the Peace itself, against the morrow. It was to no Purpose for him to repeat to them, that he had
neither

neither the necessary Instructions, nor the full Powers from the King his Master: His Reasons were not regarded. Seeing the Stupidity and Obstinacy of the Grand Visir, he promised to work at them all Night, on Condition that they would suspend the Ratification, and not let the Enemies get away. The Visir gave him his Assurance, that they would do nothing without comprising the King's Interest; and that they would send him Word as soon as *Schaffirow* returned, that he might have Time to come to Terms with him.

Poniatowski, being retired to his Tent to work at his Project, had his Eye upon *Schaffirow's* Arrival, and the Assurances of the Grand Visir, whom he had all the Reason in the World to distrust. At Break of Day, having heard that *Schaffirow* was come, he repaired to the Visir's Tent, and placed himself behind him; and, when the *Turk* had the Pen just ready to sign the Czar's Ratification presented by *Schaffirow*, without having even read it, he stopped his Hand, and put him in mind of his Promise: But, instead of being heard, he had for answer only these Words of the Visir: *Where you have made your Quarrel, you have nothing to do but to make your own Peace.*

After the Signature, the Visir gave Orders to let the *Muscovite* Army instantly march out; to furnish them with necessary Provisions, which they were quite destitute of; and even to give them an Escorte of five thousand *Turks*, to reconduct them to the Frontiers of *Poland*, that the *Tartars* might not harrafs them in their Way.

While these Things were transacting, the King of *Sweden* came Post from *Bender*; and, as he arrived on the opposite Side of the River,

over-against the *Muscovite* Army, and saw their Motions, and that they were intermixed with the *Turks*, without any Injury being done on either Side; not knowing what had happened, and quite impatient to be informed, instead of going to look for a Bridge three Leagues off, he swam his Horse over the River, and rode quite thro' the *Muscovite* Camp, without having a Word said to him. He sent an Officer before to inform Count *Poniatowski* of his Arrival, who carried the News to the Visir, and mounted his Horse to go and meet him. When he came up to his Majesty, he gave him a short Account of the Situation of Affairs.

The Grand Visir sent two Bashaws to meet the King, to invite him into his Camp, and offered him his Tent: He came out on Horseback also himself, with all his Court, who ranged themselves before the Tent, to receive his Majesty. After Reverence paid in their Manner, he introduced him into his Tent; where the King, having alighted, placed himself upon a Sopha on the right, the Han of the *Tartars* in the middle, and the Visir in a Corner on the left. This last opened the Scene with a *Hos geldy saffa geldy*, which signifies, *you are welcome*; and at the same Time gave a Recital of his Victory, and made his own Panegyrick; mentioning what a few Months he had been Visir, and what glorious Things he had already atchieved. The King having asked him, ' If he was not responsible to his Master for having neglected to make use of his Advantage?' he answered, with a haughty Stupidity, ' That he was the Vicar of the Empire; that his Master, having entrusted him with his Army and his Power, had made him absolute in War and Peace; that having thought proper to make a Peace so advantageous and honourable, the Grand Signior would intirely approve of it; and that nothing

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in the World could make any Alteration in it.' While they were talking, Coffee was brought in, and the King drank one Dish. He then told the Visir, 'That his Master would have more Reason to be satisfied, if he had the Czar in his Hands; and if the Visir would give him but twenty thousand Janissaries, he would take upon him to deliver that Monarch up yet.' The *Turk* answered by an *Estasforla*, that is, *God forbid!* 'The good God, added he, has divided the World, and given a Part of it to every Prince, for him to govern. And who shall govern *Muscovy*, if I take away its Prince?' He concluded with saying, 'that Peace being once made, it should subsist.'

The King, having heard this stupid Answer, went briskly out, mounted his Horse, and rode to visit the Entrenchment. Count *Poniatowski* shewed him, at his Desire, the Dispositions of the Attacks. After which the King ordered him to remove his Tents immediately to the Camp of the *Tartars*, resolving not to return any more into that which the Visir had offered him. He lay among the *Tartars* all Night; and the next Morning paid a Visit to their Han, with whom he continued an Hour, endeavouring to animate him against the *Muscovites*. But not having been able to bring him to a Resolution, he went to Breakfast with Count *Poniatowski*, whom he commanded to stay in the Camp till his final Orders came, and then set out on his Return to *Bender*.

The Czar, well victualled and escorted, marched away very contented at his having come so well off. He left with the Visir *Schaffirow* and *Szeremetoff*, as his Hostages and Plenipotentiaries; and sent Orders to the Governor of *Asoph* to surrender that Place, and demolish the others. The Visir thought proper to wait in his Camp till the Execution of the Treaty.

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Poniatowski, abandoned to his melancholy Reflections, communicated them to his most familiar Friends ; crying out, without Reserve, against the Visir's Procedure. The Kihai, who had still a thorough Friendship for him, persuaded him to be pacified, and offered him a hundred Purfes of Silver to comfort him ; telling him, that he (the Kihai) was nominated by the Grand Visir to go and carry the Tidings of Peace to the Sultan ; and that he would not fail to do him Justice, with regard to the good Services that he had performed for the Empire.

Poniatowski refused his Offer with Indignation, and told him, that he had best take care he made a faithful Relation to the Grand Signior ; for that his Highness should know the Truth sooner or later : That in reality, if he endeavoured to spare the Grand Visir, instead of the Recompence that he promised himself for his good News (which Recompence is usually one of the best Governments) he should be punished for his Falshood.

The Grand Visir had taken the Precaution, that no Man should pass the *Danube*, without first giving him Advice of it. As Count *Poniatowski* had resolved to communicate to the Grand Signior, all the Circumstances of the Battle, and the Treaty, and the many Faults committed by the Visir, he wrote down an exact Relation of the Campaign, and proposed to a Janissary, whom he had in his Service, and whom he knew to be entirely devoted to his Interest, the Office of going to *Constantinople* at all hazards, and presenting these Memoirs to the Sultan. The Janissary changed his usual Dress ; and, pretending an earnest Desire to see his Wife, entered himself as Servant to his Brother, who was the Kihai's Page ; and by this Means

Means got to *Constantinople* in the Kihai's Retinue.

The Count had not sufficient Time to put his Relation in *Turkish* ; and therefore addressed it to the *Sieur Bru*, Chancellor of the *French* Embassy, for him to translate it. This obliged the Janissary to wait till the following *Friday*, when he presented it to the Grand Signior ; who, after having read it, to prevent any one's knowing from whence it came, ordered the Janissary to be clapped up in a Tower, with a strict Injunction not to let him speak to any Person whatever.

Collating this Memoir afterwards with the Kihai's Relation, and finding them very different from one another, he sent for that Officer, and examined him very much, both on the Affair of *Pruth*, and on all the Rest of the Campaign. He then enquired concerning Count *Poniatowski*, to whom the Kihai did Justice, and, confessed, that he had performed very great Services among them. But, when the Grand Signior asked him, what was become of the King of *Sweden*, and whether he did not come to the Camp ? the Kihai answered, that he did ; but, that he was a very unpolished Prince ; that he indecently set himself down on a Sopha with his Legs dirty ; and that, though he knew the Peace was concluded, he asked the Grand Visir for twenty Thousand Janissaries, that he might go and take the Czar.

The Grand Signior, though informed of all, still dissembled his Knowledge. But, instead of giving the Kihai the Government of *Egypt*, which he expected, he made him his Master of the Horse ; telling him, that this was only to detain him near his Person, that he might at ease hear his Relations, which gave him a great deal of Pleasure. His real Design, however, was to wait the Return of his former Master of the Horse,
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and the Hassèki Aga, whom he had sent, a few Days before the Kihai's Arrival, to get Information of the Success of the Campaign. But let us return to the *Turkish* Army.

Count *Poniatowski* taking the Air one Day on Horseback about the Camp, met the Hassèki Aga his intimate Friend ; and having learned the Occasion of his coming thither, he took the Opportunity of giving him at large a Detail of all that had passed. They went on talking, without perceiving that they were just over against the Grand Visir's Tent, who, suspecting the Subject of their Conversation, instead of dispatching back the Hassèki Aga, put him under an Arrest, with an Order that he should speak to nobody.

The King had promised Count *Poniatowski* to recal him, after he had procured the Liberty of certain *Swedes*, who, having been Prisoners among the *Muscovites*, had made their Escape, and got to the *Turks*, in hopes of becoming free. As there were among them the Musicians of some of the Regiments taken at *Pultawa*, the Grand Visir had a great Desire to detain them : But, being perpetually sollicitated by Count *Poniatowski*, he was obliged at last to deliver them all up.

All this while he was not recalled ; and he ran every Day a great Risk of his Life. The Grand Visir, whether he had got any Information of the Memoir presented by the Janissary to the Grand Signior, or whether he was piqued at the Count's repeated Complaints and Declamations, had taken the Resolution to get him assassinated. *Poniatowski* was informed of it by mere Providence. One Day an Aga, or Gentleman of the Court, who had all along been near the Count's Person, by an express Order of the *Porte*, of which the Count was wholly ignorant, came to wait upon him more early than usual, and desired

fired to speak with him alone. The Aga was a *Pole* by Birth, but a Renegade in Religion. Having saluted the Count with a Good-morrow in the *Polish* Language, he opened his Discourse with a Torrent of Tears, and told him, that, in acknowledgment for the Civilities and Liberalities he had heaped upon him, he came to inform him, that he would be assassinated, before the Day was over, by Order of the Court ; that he, with his Comrade, and the Guards that were about him, had received Orders to withdraw ; that twelve Men, pretending to be drunk, would come to poinard him in his Tent ; and that his only Way was to take Measures for getting off as soon as possible. Two Hours after the two Gentlemen, and the Officer who commanded his Guard, came to take their leaves of him ; telling him, that they had Orders from the Visir to retire. The Count regaled them liberally at parting ; but from that Time his Thoughts were wholly employed on the Fate he expected. He did not say a Word of the Matter however to his Domesticks ; but only ordered them to have Coffee, Tobacco, Perfumes, and Sweetmeats, all in readiness, because he expected some Visitants. In the mean Time he furnished himself with two Pocket-Pistols, recommended his Soul to God, and waited for the fatal Castrophe of the Tragedy.

About Noon precisely, just as he had been informed, he saw the pretended Drunkards coming directly up to his Tent. They were no sooner entered, but he received them with great Politeness. Then calling his Servants, with a counterfeit Gaiety, and ordering them to bring the Coffee, Tobacco, Sweetmeats, &c. he earnestly intreated the *Turks* to sit down, and obligingly forced them to drink some Coffee, smoke a Pipe

of Tobacco, and partake of what else was there. The *Turks*, astonished without Doubt at such a Reception, from a Man they were going to murder, did nothing but look at one another, without uttering a single Word ; till all at once, the chief of them, he who in all Likelihood was to begin the Execution, started up suddenly, and said to the rest, *Heydy gidelim* ; which signifies, *let us be gone*. As he went out, he turned towards Count *Poniatowski*, and said to him, *Ne Kiafir sen*, which is as much as to say, *Thou art an extraordinary Heathen*.

The Count, having escaped so great a Danger by a singular Providence, received, some Hours after, the King's Order for returning to *Bender*. Well pleased with this News, as any one may imagine, he went immediately to take his Leave of the Grand Visir ; and, after some strained Compliments on both Sides, they being both glad to get rid of each other, the Count set out the same Day.

Some time after, the Visir received Advice, that the Commander of *Asoph* would not restore that Place ; for which he gave this Reason, that, though he paid the utmost Regard to his Master's Orders, he could not but look upon those, which were signed in the *Turkish* Camp, to be extorted from him ; and therefore would not deliver up the Place till he received others.

The Grand Visir, in the utmost Consternation at this Incident, dispatched to the Czar Couriers after Couriers, to demand fresh Orders to the Commander of *Asoph*, and the intire Execution of the Treaty. The Czar was already a long Way off, and his Answer did not come. The *Turkish* Army, weary of being kept in Camp without Necessity, complained loudly, and insisted upon returning. Every body was dissatisfied, and reproached

proached the Visir for not having followed *Poniatowski's* Advice.

Driven thus to Despair, the Visir wrote to the King of *Sweden*, and prayed him to send the Count back, for that his Majesty's Peace with the Czar might yet take Place. But the King answered, that he had need of the Count near his Person ; and that the Opportunity having once been neglected, he could not now hope for suitable Conditions. Whereupon the Visir sent Orders to *Constantinople*, that the *Swedish* Envoy *Funk*, who remained in that Capital, should be brought to him with all Expedition.

When *Funk* was arrived, the Visir told him, that his Business was to make his King's Peace with the *Muscovite* Plenipotentiaries. The *Swede*, astonished at such a Proposition, answered, that he could not enter into any Negotiation without his Master's Orders, and the necessary Instructions ; but that, if the Visir desired it, he would go and endeavour to get them at *Bender*. The *Turkish* Minister would not consent to this, and ordered him only to write to the King, detaining him there till an Answer should come.

Though the Visir's Proposition was quite unreasonable and ridiculous, his Majesty nevertheless sent certain Instructions to Mr. *Funk*. But the Negotiation was broke off at the first Conference which that Minister had with *Schaffirow*.

The Visir, enraged without Reason, through his Ignorance of Affairs, put *Funk* under an Arrest, and for the future followed only the Advice of *Schaffirow*, who, as well as the Visir, would stand in need of some Expedient to bring himself off, in case the Treaty of *Pruth* was not executed.

In all Appearance, it was by the Advice of this Councillor, that the Visir, to dawb over the

Affront given to King *Augustus* in the Person of his Envoy *Bakowski*, dispatched two Orders to the Bashaw of *Bender*; the first, to bring off that Minister, and send him to the Camp; the second, to seize Count *Poniatowski*, and send him also to the Camp, with his Hands and Legs bound; imagining, that the King of *Sweden*'s Inflexibility proceeded from *Poniatowski*'s Advice.

The first Order having been executed with Ease, as the *Polish* Envoy had the Liberty of taking the Air round the Country upon his Parole, the Bashaw was in no haste to proceed to the second. On the contrary, either from his particular Friendship for Count *Poniatowski*, or from some other Motive, he sent his Son to him, to inform him, that it behoved him to keep on his Guard, to lodge near the King, and never to stir out alone; and even, that if the Bashaw should at any Time require him to wait on him, he should always refuse; and that he would, at a proper Time, be acquainted with the Reason of this Advertisement, when the Storm was blown over.

In the mean time, the Visir's Uneasiness augmented, in proportion as the Restitution of *Asoph* was retarded. He was more afraid of the King of *Sweden* at *Bender*, than of his own Master at *Constantinople*. At last, after many Deliberations with his Privy-Councillor *Schaffirow*, he took the Resolution of sending to *Bender* three Bashaws, with ten thousand Spahi's, to serve the King for an Escorte, with Orders to oblige him to depart immediately; and, if he refused, to bind him, put him in a Chariot, and carry him by Force out of the Grand Signior's Dominions; of which Order the three Bashaws were to give him notice.

The King of *Sweden*, informed of the Subject of this Message, and what a menacing Compliment

ment he was to receive in the Visir's Name, ordered out thirty Dragoons to make a Lane for the Bashaws to pass thro', between his two Tents, with their Bayonets at the End of their Muskets; and in this Manner he admitted the *Turks* to an Audience. Before they began to speak, he ordered his Interpreter to tell them, that he would have them take care what they said; and that at the first indecent Expression, that was contrary to his Honour and his royal Dignity, he would order his Guards to burn their Beards.

The Bashaws, more than half dead at this Resolution, bowed themselves to the very Ground, and retired in the most humble Manner, without explaining themselves on the Subject of their Arrival. They sent to tell the Visir, that it was his only Way to come himself, if he had a Mind to persuade the King; for as to them, they were utterly unable to threaten a Prince, before whom every Man must tremble. The ten thousand Spahi's continued at *Bender*, till the Grand Visir had repassed the *Danube*.

This Minister, tho' pressed by the Grand Signior to bring back the Troops, marched very slowly, in expectation of receiving the Keys of *Asoph*. The Grand Signior, tired out with these Delays, examined the Kihaiia, from Time to Time, concerning the Affair of *Pruth*. One Day the Conversation having turned upon the King of *Sweden*, and the Kihaiia continually calling that Prince a mad Man, because he wanted to take the Czar after the Conclusion of the Peace; the Grand Signior was put out of all Patience, to that Degree, that he caught up some Weapon which lay at Hand, and heartily belaboured the Kihaiia; telling him, 'that it was he and the Grand Visir who were Madmen, and not the King of *Sweden*.'

Sweden. He then ordered him to be shut up in the same Tower with Count *Poniatowski's* Janissary.

Mean Time the Visir drew near *Constantinople*, where the Keys of *Asoph* at last arrived. The Grand Signior, tho' very much provoked at all his Faults, sent a Caffan turned up with Sable, to be presented him on the Road, as a Token of his Favour: But, at the same Time, he gave the Aga of the Janissaries Orders to arrest him, and offered the Visiriate to that Commander.

This was the same *Jussuff* Bashaw, of whom Mr. *de Voltaire* speaks in his sixth Book, p. 215, of the Translation. But, he was not a *Muscovite* by Birth, but a *Georgian*, and had been bought by a Janissary when a Child, for thirty Crowns. He was brought up among that Soldiery, and had been so happy, as to rise to the Dignity of their Aga; from which he was promoted to the Visiriate, upon the Deposition of *Baltadzi*, who was sent to *Mitylene*, and soon after strangled.

In the same Place our Author makes mention of *Chourlouly Ali* Bashaw, who was Grand Visir, when the King of *Sweden* arrived in *Turky*: But that *Chourlouly* was not now living, having been strangled some Time after his Deposition, as we observed in its Place. — But let us resume the Thread of our Relation.

As soon as the King of *Sweden* heard of the Visir *Baltadzi Mechmet's* Deposition, he commanded Count *Poniatowski* to set out immediately for *Constantinople*, in order to excite the *Porte*, if possible, to a fresh Declaration of War against the Czar, to obtain those Advantages which had been neglected in the Treaty of *Pruth*.

The Moment he arrived at *Constantinople*, *Poniatowski* waited upon the new Visir, who had been his Confident, and from whom he had concealed

cealed none of his Correspondences, and most secret Intrigues in the Seraglio. This Visir was, more over, a Man who did not want Courage. But instead of receiving the Count's Compliment, upon his Advancement to the Visiriate, he looked angrily upon him, and said with great Warmth, ' Pagan, I know all thy past Intrigues, and give thee Notice, that the first Plot I shall find thee carrying on, I will order a Stone to be tied about thy Neck, and have thee thrown into the Sea.'

A Reception so disagreeable made a very strong Impression upon Count *Poniatowski's* Mind: He mounted his Horse, and returned very pensive and sorrowful to his Quarters. But, scarce had he alighted, before a Hassaki, an Officer of the Seraglio, came to tell him, that his Master, *Bostandzi* Bashaw, wanted to see him, and that he must wait upon him that Moment. *Poniatowski* told him, that he would not go; for that he was indisposed, and had something to do at home. The Hassaki, astonished at this Refusal, went away very uneasy; and an Hour after there came two others, with the same Demand. As he persisted in refusing these also, they told him, that they had Orders to bring him either with or without his Consent.

This Confession, tho' very perplexing, made Count *Poniatowski* take the Resolution, in order to prevent his being exposed to the Eyes of the Publick, and led along like a Criminal, to go immediately whither he was required, and take his Chance; tho he was not able to imagine what would be the Result. A small Boat waited for him at *Tophana*, and he was conducted by the two Hassaki into the Garden of the Grand Signior's Seraglio, which he walked across, and was led into a Hall that stood separate from the other Buildings,

Buildings, and was richly adorned, with Orders to stay there and compose himself.

A few Moments after, the *Bostandzi* Bashaw arrived ; and, having saluted him very graciously, told him, that the Grand Signior, being at the Window, when he went out from the Visir, had observed him to be very pensive. ‘ It appeared to him, added he, that thou hast been made uneasy ; he commands thee to tell him positively what is the Matter.’ Upon this, Count *Poniatowski* related the whole Story, without Hesitation ; giving this for the Reason of his Refusal to come into the Seraglio at the first Summons, that he was afraid of some Snares being laid for him by the Grand Visir, who seemed to be so much irritated against him.

Bostandzi Bashaw quitted him at hearing this, and very obligingly desired him to wait without Uneasiness. While he was gone, Coffee, Sweetmeats, &c. were brought to the Count, and he was served with the all Ceremony of Distinction. The Bashaw kept him in waiting two Hours ; and when he came again, congratulated him upon his having the Grand Signior his Master’s Favour, who, having heard with Surprise the Cause of his Uneasiness, had sent immediately for the Grand Visir ; and, after long Conversation, had told him, that if the least disagreeable Thing happened to Count *Poniatowski*, he should answer for it with his Head. ‘ The Grand Signior, continued the Bashaw, has commanded me to tell thee farther, that thou shouldst make thy Addresses to the Grand Visir, in whatever thou hast to propose, and take particular Notice of his Answers, in order to communicate them to his Highness in a Manner that shall be prescribed to thee.’

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It may well be imagined that such an Incident as this, proceeding from a Providence so visible, rejoiced the Heart of Count *Poniatowski*. He went home thoroughly satisfied, and laboured, more than ever, as well to be revenged on the Visir, as to animate the Grand Signior to a second Declaration of War.

As there was always something wanting in the Execution of the Treaty of *Pruth*, Count *Poniatowski* made warm Remonstrances on that Head wherever he came. He took every Opportunity to wait on the Visir, who, inwardly enraged, but not daring to make any Attempt against his Person, answered his Questions and Objections either in an abrupt Manner, or by something very foreign from the Purpose.

The Grand Signior, after having permitted this Comedy for ten Months together, took the Resolution at last to declare War a second Time, and ordered the Visir to have the *Muscovite* Plenipotentiaries carried to Prison, upon the Backs of Asses. But the Visir not to expose his Friend by such a shameful Cavalcade, let them ride on Horses. The Grand Signior made a Handle of this Disobedience to punish the Visir, and had him strangled the same Evening. Some Months before the Head of the *Kihai*, whom he had imprisoned, had been taken off before the Seraglio; and *Hummer Effendi*, the Secretary of State that we mentioned before, who was concerned in the Treaty of *Pruth*, had suffered the same Punishment.

Count *Poniatowski* was highly pleased at all this. But Affairs the mean while did not go on with the same Vigour as before the other War. The Grand Signior did not dispose of the Visiriate, but advanced *Soliman*, Bashaw of the *Divan*, to be Kaimacan, which Place he had before held after the Deposition of *Kouprouli*: This *Soliman*, who from the first had been a Friend of the *Muscovites*,

endeavoured to mortify Count *Poniatowski* in every Thing he could : But the Count, protected by a superior Power, little regarded the Kaimacan's Proceedings.

The Grand Signior, in the mean Time, made slow Preparations for War. He determined to make the Campaign himself ; and for that Purpose, removed to *Adrianople*. He sent two Hundred Purfes to the King of *Sweden*, and gave Orders for the assembling of fifty Thousand *Tartars*, and twenty Thousand *Turks*, under the Command of *Ismael* Bashaw, Governor of *Bender*, to escorte that Prince, that he might return into his own Dominions, put himself at the Head of his Troops, and make, in conjunction with the *Porte*, a vigorous War against the common Enemy.

Things were upon this Footing, and the King of *Sweden* had resolved to set out, when new Incidents, which it behoves us to unravel, changed the Face of Affairs.

Count *Poniatowski* continued still at *Constantinople* ; but it was only to wait for Money from *Bender*, in order to pay the Debts that he had contracted for the King.

Before we continue our Narrative, we are obliged to take notice, that, in the sixth and seventh Books of the History, which we have in part endeavoured to clear up, the Author, seemingly for want of faithful Memoirs, has given the Publick many Circumstances, which in Fact vary extremely from the Truth. Something, indeed, of what he relates, really happened ; but he does not relate it in Order of Time. Every Reader therefore may see here a more just, and more connected Account of divers particular Events, and their true Causes. We pass over in Silence the Affair of *Bender*, and some other Incidents,

dents, which all the World are very well acquainted with.

Mr. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, tom. II. p. 8. *English* Translation, p. 213.

All the European Merchants refused to lend the King any Money, because he seemed out of a Condition of ever repaying it. Only one Cooke, an Englishman, dared at last to advance about forty Thousand Crowns; content to lose them, if any Misfortune happened to the King of Sweden; and sure to make his Fortune if that Prince lived. This Money was brought to the King's little Camp just at a Time when they began to want every Thing, and to despair of any Resource.

R E M A R K.

L *A Motraye* was, or pretended to be, a Master of the French Language at Constantinople. Count Poniatowski sent him from Constantinople to Bender, with Money that an Englishman, Treasurer of the Nation, advanced to the King. Certain Presents from the King enabled this Frenchman to travel; as he did afterwards, and gave as an Account of what he had seen. But it was never in his Power to know any great Matter of what regarded the King of Sweden, and his Affairs in Turkey.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, tom. II. p. 12, 13. *English* Translation, 216.

Constantinople, after Charles's Retreat to Bender, was become what Rome has often been, the Center of all the Negotiations of Christendom. Count Desalleurs, the French Ambassador at the Porte, was employed in supporting the Interests of

Charles and Stanislaus ; the Emperor of Germany's Ministers in opposing them. The Swedish and Muscovite Factions clashed. — England and Holland appeared as Neuters ; but were not so. The new Trade, which the Czar had opened at Petersburg, had an Influence on the Views of those two trading Nations. The English and Dutch will be always for the Prince who follows their Traffick most ; and the Czar's was then a very advantageous Trade.

R E M A R K.

TH E Author gives a just and true Idea of the Negotiations of the Foreign Ministers at Constantinople.

M. de Voltaire's Text.

Amsterdam Edition, tom. II. p. 24, & seq. English Translation, p. 233.

In the mean Time General Flemming, King Augustus's Minister and Favourite, maintained a private Correspondence with the Kam of Tartary, and the Seraskier of Bender. La Mare, a French Gentleman, and Colonel in the Saxon Service, had made more than one Journey from Bender to Dresden ; and all these Journeys were suspected. — At this very Time the King of Sweden caused a Courier, sent from Flemming to the Tartarian Prince, to be seized upon the Frontiers of Walachia. The Letters were carried to him, and decyphered. There appeared plain Marks of a Correspondence between the Tartars and the Court of Dresden.

R E M A R K.

AT the same Time that the King of Sweden prepared to depart, his People intercepted Letters from the Han of the Tartars, and Ismael Bashaw

Bashaw Seraskier of *Bender*, writ to the Great General of the Crown of *Poland*, in which they informed him, that he need not take Umbrage at their Entrance into *Poland* with the King of *Sweden* ; for that, as soon as they saw him advanced five or six Leagues into the Country, they should leave him and return ; and then the Great General had nothing to do but to seize him, and do with him what he thought proper.

On the other Side, Count *Steinbock*, after the Battle of *Gradebusch*, which he had won, made, by the Instigation and Persuasion of Count *Flemming*, an Armistice for some Months. This he did in order to give his Master Time to make his Peace with King *Augustus*, which *Flemming* assured him would be done.

They both of them even persuaded King *Stanislaus* to make a Tour to *Bender*, with Passports for the Security of his Passage, in order to persuade the King of *Sweden* to set his Hand to it. This Armistice was known at the *Porte*, by the Care of the *English* and *Dutch* Embassadors, sooner than the King had Advice of it.

The Han of the *Tartars*, and the Seraskier of *Bender*, having heard of the Interception of their Letters, took care to have the Passage of the *Danube* so guarded, that no Body might go over from the King of *Sweden* ; who, they were afraid, would inform the Grand Signior of their Treason concerted against him. They urged his Departure with all their Might ; and seeing that all their Arguments were to no Purpose, they dispatched to *Constantinople* one *Hussein Effendi*, chief Secretary and Councillor of the Han, to carry a Relation to the Grand Signior that was quite false and fictitious.

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In this Account, they accused the King of *Sweden* with intending to make war against the Grand Signior, out of a Pique at his having been forgot in the Treaty of *Pruth*: Adding, that he had made Peace with the *Muscovites*, and King *Augustus*; and that his persisting not to set out from *Bender*, was only to wait for the Arrival of his Troops, and those of his new Allies, in concert with whom he was then to make War against the *Porte*. The Emissary, a Man full of Subtlety, joined so many Circumstances to this Narrative, that the Grand Signior believed it. He sent however to the Embassadors of *England* and *Holland*, to ask them, if they had heard any Thing of the King of *Sweden*'s Peace with his Enemies? These Ministers confirmed the Fact, without distinguishing that this Peace was only an Armistice; which the *Turks* always confound with a Treaty, because they never make any Thing but temporary Truces with the Christians. It is reported, that the Grand Signior, upon this, sent Orders to the Han of the *Tartars*, and the Bashaw of *Bender*, that they should bring the King of *Sweden* by Force, dead or alive, to *Adrianople*. These Orders, however, were afterwards denied by his Highness.

The Han's Secretary, having acquitted himself of his Commission to the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*, made a Tour to *Constantinople*. Count *Poniatowski* having heard of his Arrival, and being familiar with him, went to wait upon him, to know if he had any News from *Bender*, whence the Count had heard nothing for six Weeks before. He had indeed been much perplexed on that Account, because he knew the King's Resolution to depart; and the Money did not come for Payment of the Debts. *Hussein* seemed in a Surprise to see him at *Constantinople*, and asked him

him what he did there, when the King of *Sweden* had been gone three Weeks from *Bender*? *Poniatowski*, who knew his Majesty's strict Honour, could not persuade himself that he had been thus left without any Notice of his Departure, and therefore told the Secretary, that he could not believe what he said.

However, as *Huffein* persisted in what he had advanced, the Count, knowing him to be extremely addicted to Liquor, had several Bottles of the strongest Wine brought in, and intreated his Friend to drink, to refresh himself after the Fatigue of his Journey. When the *Tartar* had got himself well filled with this Liquor, his Heart grew a little more open. He then told the Count, that, as he was his Friend, he must sincerely confess to him, that the King of *Sweden* had made his Peace with the Czar and King *Augustus*, in revenge for his having been forgot in the Treaty of *Pruth*; that, he was going to draw together his Troops, with those of his new Allies, to make war against the *Porte*: But, that he would pay dear for his Folly; because he, the Secretary, had just now procured Orders to the Han his Master, and the Seraskier *Ismael*, to put the King and all his Retinue to the Sword: 'And thou, added he, wilt do well to go on board the first Christian Vessel, to make thy Escape from hence; for otherwise, thou wilt be treated in the same Manner.' He informed him also, that the Envoy of *Sweden* was already arrested at *Adrianople*; which indeed was true, and Count *Poniatowski* knew of it, but was utterly unacquainted with the Cause.

Such a surprizing Piece of News made the Count easily conceive, that these were the Inventions of the King's Enemies for his Destruction: And, without knowing any Thing of the Interception

ception of the Han and the Bashaw of *Bender's* Letters, he concluded, that the Armistice of General *Steinbock*, being interpreted to the Grand Signior to the King's Disadvantage, at the same Time when his Majesty was doing all in his Power to stir up the *Porte* to a War, was in all likelihood the Cause of this, so a fatal Resolution.

Having got rid of his drunken Companion, he waited upon one of his most intimate Friends, the new Captain Bashaw, of whom we shall speak more at large a little farther, to know what News he had heard, and to communicate to him this which we have just related.

The Captain Bashaw owned, that there was something whispered about very much to the King of *Sweden's* Disadvantage; but, that he did not know any one Particular or Circumstance. He then directed the Count to get himself informed elsewhere, especially by the *Bostandzi* Bashaw, and to bring him afterwards an Account of the whole. *Bostandzi* Bashaw, another particular Friend of Count *Poniatowski*, had heard nothing at all of this Rumour; but told him, that he would wait upon the Captain Bashaw, to get Information what it arose from.

Poniatowski made haste back to the Captain Bashaw, to inform him that the other would be with him immediately. Half an Hour after, the *Bostandzi* Bashaw arrived. These two great Officers of the Empire, convinced by the Reasonings of Count *Poniatowski*, their common Friend, of the Malignity of the King of *Sweden's* Enemies, and the Falsehoods they advanced in order to ruin that Prince, were persuaded of the Injustice that was done him, and of the Necessity of opening the Grand Signior's Eyes.

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They agreed, that it was necessary for Count *Poniatowski* to write to all his Acquaintance in the Seraglio, and assure them, that the Ambassadors of the Christian Powers threatened the *Porte* that all *Europe* would interest itself in the Affront given to the King of *Sweden*. The Captain *Bashaw* was to get himself ordered to *Adrianople*, to the Grand Signior; and Count *Poniatowski* was to go with him, to endeavour to avert this Storm, if it was not already too late. Agreeably to this Resolution, *Poniatowski* went to all the Ambassadors, and endeavoured to persuade them to interest themselves in the Outrages committed upon the King of *Sweden*: But, not one of them would stir in the Affair, except M. *Desalleurs*, who wrote to the *Porte* in the Terms that had been concerted.

Some Days after, the Captain *Bashaw* received Orders to repair to *Adrianople*; and Count *Poniatowski* set out with him. A short Time before their Arrival, the Grand Signior had received, by Means of Colonel *Longueville de la Cerda*, a Petition from the *Swedish* Envoy, who was under Restraint; but it produced no Effect, and the Envoy was still kept with somebody to watch him.

Count *Poniatowski* paid his first Visit to the Grand Visir *Soliman* *Bashaw*, who had been raised from *Kaimacan* to that Post. He told him, that he was very much surpris'd to see their Envoy arrested, and that all who belonged to the King of *Sweden* were treated as Enemies, without any Conviction, or Knowledge of the Cause. He then waited upon the Master of the Horse, and the *Rekiptar* Aga, Favourite of the Grand Signior's Stirrup, who were both his good Friends, to communicate to them his Thoughts. He saw himself alone at Liberty, while all the rest of the
O King

King of *Sweden's* People were either arrested, or ill-used. He redoubled his Activity, and had such Success, that, upon his Persuasions, the Palatine of *Mazovia*, newly arrived as Ambassador from the King of *Poland*, was made a close Prisoner in his Palace, and the *Swedish* Envoy was released.

The vulgar Reports concerning the Affair of *Bender*, were advantageous to the King of *Sweden*. All the World agreed that he had had great Injustice done him; and People said so much in his Behalf, that the Grand Signior was alarmed at it. Hereupon he sent his Master of the Horse to Count *Poniatowski*, to tell him, that the King was not dead; that they were bringing him to *Adrianople*; and that he would do well to go and meet him, and persuade him to take the Blame on himself of what had befallen him at *Bender*: Adding, that the Grand Signior would open his Treasures to him, and give him the Command of all his Troops, not only by way of Escorte to himself, but to make war against the *Muscovites*; and that he would punish the Han and the Bashaw of *Bender*. In effect, the first of these was deposed, and the other strangled, before the King of *Sweden* arrived at *Adrianople*.

In the mean time, the Visir *Soliman* was deposed, and *Ibrahim Motna*, Captain Bashaw, advanced in his Room. He immediately sent for Count *Poniatowski* his Friend, and ordered him to assure the King of *Sweden*, as soon as he saw him, of his sincere Attachment to his Person; and that, when his Majesty came near *Adrianople*, he should be glad to see him, and to concert Measures together with him concerning a War with his Enemies, and his Majesty's Return to his Dominions, at the Head of a chosen Army.

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Poniatowski, having engaged the *Visir*, that he should never admit the *Palatine of Mazovia* to an Audience, nor acknowledge him as the Ambassador of *Poland*, set out to go and meet the King, whom he found at *Karnabat*, twenty-four German Leagues from *Adrianople*. His Majesty was so much the more glad to see him, as he had heard that he had been massacred at *Constantinople*; and entertained him a long while with an Account of what had happened at *Bender*. Though the Count well foresaw that the King of *Sweden* would never submit to a Measure so little conformable to his Character, as that of taking upon himself the Fault of the *Bender* Affair; he however told him his Story, and informed him that the *Han* of the *Tartars* either was or soon would be deposed; that *Ismael* Bashaw was or would be strangled; and that his Majesty might have any other Sort of Satisfaction, if he would but accept of the Grand Signior's Propositions. But, seeing that his Persuasions had no Effect, he desired his Majesty to think of what was to be done.

The King promised himself much from the Activity of the new *Visir*, having heard him spoke of as an extraordinary Man, and knowing that he had declared himself in his Interest. Two Days after, Count *Poniatowski* set out before his Majesty for *Adrianople*, where, at his Arrival, he found some Variation from those positive Declarations, which the Grand *Visir* had given him; the *Palatine of Mazovia* having been admitted to an Audience, during his Absence, with all the customary Ceremonies. He reproached the *Visir* very bitterly, for not having kept his Word, after it had been given to his Master; exaggerating, with great Sharpness, the Irregularity of this Proceeding. The *Visir*, surpris'd at this warm Dis-

course, found himself confused, and did not know whether he had best put himself in a Passion, or dissemble his Anger; and in this manner they parted.

The *Turkish* Minister, having reflected on what had passed, sent for Count *Poniatowski's* Interpreter, and told him, that his Master had forgot himself; that he had called him a Liar to his Face; and that if he, the Visir, had not had a great Friendship for him, he should have been provoked to some Violence. He then bid the Interpreter tell him, that he would do well to moderate his Vivacity, if he hoped to preserve his Friendship; and that he might wait upon him the next Morning.

This second Conversation was spent in mutual Excuses. The Visir alledged, that, in a Post which obliged him to hear all the World, he could not dispense himself from giving Audience to the Palatine of *Mazovia*: But, that it would be proper to send for the *French* Ambassador to *Adrianople*, to consult with him what should be done. 'For, added he, we must however convince the Grand Signior that the King of *Sweden* has still some Friends among the Christian Princes; tho' the *English* and the *Dutch* are at Work for the *Muscovites*.'

All these ill-digested Reasons gave Count *Poniatowski* to understand, that the Insinuations of the Ministers of those two maritime Powers had made an Impression upon the Grand Signior's Mind. He observed, that the People no longer exaggerated so strongly the Affront given to the King of *Sweden*, as they had before done.

Count *Poniatowski's* Excuses in behalf of the King, for his refusing to take on himself the Faults he had not committed, were not relished by the Sultan; and the Disposition that this Empe-
ror

ror had shewn for renewing the War with the *Muscovites*, was very much abated. The Visir, however, made Preparations for an Expedition, which he kept a Secret to himself. He had even sent Money into *Bosnia*, his native Country, to raise there thirty thousand Men; and all this without the Grand Signior's Knowledge.

In the mean time, the new Han, *Kaptan Giery*, Brother of him that was deposed, arrived at Court; but he had seen his Brother in the Way, as he was going to his Place of Exile, and had been intreated by him to revenge his Cause the first Opportunity. Count *Poniatowski* went to visit this Prince; and, after having congratulated him upon his Advancement, he had a long Conference with him upon the present Situation of Affairs: But the Count found him extremely cold and full of Dissimulation; excusing himself that he could not freely enter into these Matters, as he had not seen the Grand Signior, and did not know his Intentions. *Poniatowski* even accompanied this first Visit with a considerable Present; but all this was to no Purpose: He perceived that Affairs would not run in the Channel he could wish.

Some Days after, the King of *Sweden* arrived, and was lodged at *Demitarsh*, the Palace of a Visir, an Hour's Journey from *Adrianople*. It had been reported, that he would be carried to *Salonica*, and there embarked, and sent to *Marseilles*; but no such Resolution had been taken.

Two Days after his Majesty's Arrival, the Visir told Count *Poniatowski*, that he would see the King the next Day; and even gave Orders in the Count's Presence, to have his Tents pitched at *Demitarsh*. This being reported to the King, his Majesty prepared to give him Audience in his Bed,

Bed, which he had kept ever-since his Departure from *Bender*.

Next Day the Visir, with the new Han, went into the Tents that had been erected for them. But, instead of waiting upon the King, they sent his Majesty Word, that they expected him to come to them. The King answered, that he was sick, as all the World knew; and that, if he was even in ever so good Health, it was their Duty to come to him, if they had any thing to say to him.

Upon this, the Visir sent for Count *Poniatowski*, and spoke to him in such a Manner as to let him understand, that he absolutely must persuade his Master to come without Hesitation; for that his Interests required it. But the Count having shewn him the Impossibility of ever persuading the King to a Thing so contrary to his Dignity, he sent for the *French* Ambassador, who arrived at *Demirtash* two Days before to wait on the King.

M. Desalleurs saw fully the Visir's Impertinence, who was puffed up with his Authority: But it was his Opinion, that Necessity required Dissimulation; and he could have wished, that the King would have taken this Step. However, not finding his Majesty disposed to it, he endeavoured to excuse him as well as he could.

Thus the Visir, without doing any thing, and after having amused himself a whole Day in a fruitless Negotiation, departed for *Adrianople*. Having ordered Count *Poniatowski* to wait on him, he exaggerated the King's unseasonable Haughtiness, and insisted much upon his own Authority, by which he represented the Grand Signior: Adding, that he had, it was true, promised to go and see the King; but that he supposed his Majesty would have come to his Tent. After many Disputes and Reasons given on both Sides, he said at last, that, in spite of the King himself,

himself, he had still an Intention of reconducting him into his Dominions. He then convoked the Divan, to deliberate on that Affair.

In this Council, *Seliſtar Ali* Baſhaw, the Grand Signior's Favourite and Son-in-Law, who could make Affairs take what Turn he pleased, juſt as they ſquared with his own private Intereſt; and who was *Cubee Wiſir*, that is, Baſhaw of the Council; ſpoke his Sentiment a little too freely. The Viſir, thinking his Authority wounded, treated him with injurious Expreſſions, and threatened to have him ſkinned alive, if he dared to oppoſe his Will. *Seliſtar* Baſhaw, ready to burſt with Indignation, held his Peace: But, at going out of the Divan, he waited upon the Han of the *Tartars*, who was no Friend of the Viſir's, to concert with him the Means of Revenge.

They formed their Plan well, and then went both to the Grand Signior, to tell him, that his Highneſs ran the Riſque of being depoſed by the new Viſir, who diſſipated his Treasures to gain the Good-will of the Janiſſaries; that he levied Troops in *Bosnia* without his Highneſs's Knowledge, to have them at his own Command; and that while he was yet Vice-Admiral, he carried on a Correſpondence with the *Malteſe*, in order to make himſelf Maſter of *Cyprus*, and enter into an Alliance with them againſt the Grand Signior. They added other Accuſations; ſome of which were true.

Mean Time the Viſir, ſuſpecting nothing, went on in his old Way. He amused himſelf every Day in ſhooting at a Mark with the Janiſſaries; and the moſt dextrous were profuſely rewarded, with Money that he drew out of the Treasures.

One Morning, being in Converſation with *Poni-atowski*, in whom he teſtified a great deal of Confidence,

fidence, even so much as to communicate to him his ambitious Designs, there came a Message for him from the Grand Signior. He ordered Count *Poniatowski* to stay till he came back ; and mounted his Horse, to ride to the Seraglio. An Hour after came a Capitzi Bashaw full gallop, who entering the Visir's Apartment with great Haste, began to clap the Seal upon all the Doors and Cabinets. When he perceived Count *Poniatowski*, whom he knew, he asked him, what he did in that House ? The Count answered, that the Visir had ordered him to stay. Upon which the Capitzi told him, that the Visir had been torn to Pieces, and thrown into the River ; that at his Entrance into the Seraglio, finding himself enclosed between two Doors, he defended himself most desperately ; and that he had killed two Men, before they could seize him. This Officer then advised Count *Poniatowski* to retire as soon as he could ; and the Count immediately set out for *Demirtash*, to inform the King of this new Revolution.

It is very certain, that this Visir had great Designs in his Head ; and that if the Grand Signior had not taken him off, he would have been deposed himself.

It is proper to say a Word or two here of the History of this *Ibraim*. He was of a fierce Temper, but very brave. He had been above fifteen Years a Highway-Robber, as he had himself related it to Count *Poniatowski*. He was a *Bosniac* by Birth ; and as to Religion, he was neither *Turk* nor Christian ; yet more inclining to the latter than the former. He had not one *Turk* in his Court ; for he mortally hated them all, and spoke of them with Contempt. Having reflected upon his Manner of living, he quitted the Calling of a Robber, and came to *Constantinople*, where

where he entered himself among the Watermen, and got his Living by carrying of Passengers over the *Bosphorus*.

One Day the Grand Signior, in disguise, had a Mind to cross over to *Scutari*, and accidentally entered himself alone in *Ibrahim's* Boat. He observed in the Waterman a very promising Physiognomy, and asked who he was? *Ibrahim* gave the History of his whole Life to the Grand Signior, without knowing him. Among other Subjects, the Boatman spoke of Government, naval Affairs, and many other Things, all with a great deal of Justice. His Discourse very much pleased the Grand Signior, who, landing without making himself known, left thirty Ducats in the Place where he had sat; and ordered *Ibrahim*, on such a Day, to come with his Boat to a Door that he named to him.

Ibrahim did not forget the Appointment; and the Grand Signior being also there at the Time fixed, again disguised, went into the Bark, to cross the *Bosphorus*. The Boatman treated him with more Reserve and Circumspection than he had before done; and when the Grand Signior asked the Reason of this Shyness, he answered, 'Thou must be something more than thou appearest to be: Thy Generosity is an infallible Proof of it.' The Grand Signior then owned to him, that he was his Master; but with an Injunction not to mention it to any Body.

He then asked him if he was a Sailor; and if he had Courage enough to go into the open Sea with his little Bark, and make a Voyage to *Candia*? *Ibrahim* answered, that it was a dangerous Attempt; but, if there was an Occasion for it, he would undertake it. Upon this the Grand Signior gave him a Letter to the Bashaw of the Place, bid him set out immediately, and

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ordered

ordered him to bring the Bashaw over. *Ibrahim* obeyed ; took Bread and Water for his Subsistence ; and, meeting with a favourable Wind, put off to Sea in the Grand Signior's Presence, and had the good Fortune to reach the Island. As soon as the Bashaw had received the Order, he went on board this little Boat, and came to *Constantinople*, where he landed at the Seraglio, in the Place that his Conductor shewed him. They were both brought before the Grand Signior, without being known to anyBody. *Ibrahim* kept the Bashaw Company for some Days, without stirring out of the Seraglio.

The Grand Signior, having before concerted his Scheme, deposed the Visir that then was, and put in his Place the new Commander. *Ibrahim*, in Reward for his Expedition, was made Captain of one of the Grand Signior's Gallies.

As Vessels of this Sort are usually sent into the *Archipelago*, to raise the Capitation upon the Christians, *Ibrahim* was often employed in that Business. Being once at *Rhodes*, whither the Han *Kaptan Giery* had been exiled, he learned that one *Molna*, his Enemy, was in the Han's Service. He demanded to have him ; which the Han refusing, he broke open his Seraglio, committed Violences upon all his Women, took *Molna*, and had his Brains beat out with Clubs. The Han complained to no Purpose : He could not obtain the least Satisfaction.

Chourlouly Ali Bashaw, then Grand Visir, taking notice of *Ibrahim's* Favour with the Grand Signior, banished him to *Smyrna*, where he continued two Years in Oblivion : But, either having heard of the Deposition of *Chourlouly*, or else been recalled by the Grand Signior, he came back to *Constantinople*, where he was made Vice-Admiral, then Admiral, and at last Grand Visir.

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The Han *Kaptan Giery*, having been at the same Time advanced in the Room of his Brother *Dewlet Giery*, and remembering the ill Treatment at *Rhodes*, joined with the Seliſtar Baſhaw to diſplace *Ibrahim*, in which they ſucceeded as above.

Let us now ſee what the King of *Sweden* did at *Demirtaſh*, where he continued for ſome Time in Oblivion.

The Seliſtar *Ali* Baſhaw (the ſame whom the Author of the Hiſtory * calls *Ali Coumourgi*) being made Kaimacan after the Depoſition of *Ibrahim*, reſuſed to have any Commerce with the *Swedes*. He ordered the Envoy *Funk* to be ſeized by the Guard, and carried to *Demirtaſh*, to keep the King Company. He ſent to Count *Poniatowski*, to tell him, that he too muſt go to his King. The Count alledged in Excuse, that his Buſineſs was at the *Porte*: But he was told, without Regard to his Reaſons, that it behoved him to follow the Advice that was given him; that they ſhewed him the more Regard, on account of the Services that he had rendered to the *Porte*; that they were unwilling to offer him the Affront and Shame of being carried thither by the Guard; but, that they adviſed him, in ſincere Friendſhip, to ſubmit to theſe Representations without Reply; becauſe that otherwiſe, the Kaimacan would make uſe of Force.

All the Negotiations and Intrigues, that had been begun under the Sanction of *Ibrahim*, the Grand Signior's Couſin, were then put a Stop to, As this Prince died ſuddenly, he was thought to be poiſoned; and there was good Room to think that this Suſpicion was well founded. In the miſt of all the preceding Convulſions, and

* Page 265, 266, 267 of the Tranſlation.

while *Ibrahim* lived, - there always appeared some good Intention towards King *Stanislaus*, and an Inclination to re-establish him in *Poland*: But upon this last Change, he seemed to be treated as a Prisoner; and the King of *Sweden* was entirely abandon'd at *Demirtash*. The Plague broke in there among the *Swedes*, and many of them died of it. Besides, the Want of Necessaries was every where felt. King *Stanislaus* was in a perplexing Situation. At last, he took the Resolution of leaving the Country, as the Persuasion of the *Turks*: And the King of *Sweden*, being in Pain for him, ordered Count *Poniatowski* to endeavour to join him, to conduct him to the Dutchy of *Deux Ponts*, and to get him supported there.

Poniatowski, accordingly, came up with him at *Jassy*; accompanied him through *Transilvania*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, and the whole Empire; and happily conducted him to *Deux Ponts*, without any sinister Accident. As he passed by *Vienna*, Prince *Eugene* gave him one Lieutenant-Colonel *Weiss*, to take care of his Safety on all Accounts.

Count *Poniatowski*, having rested only three Days in *Deux Ponts*, returned into *Turkey*, and found the King of *Sweden* at *Demotica*, whither his Majesty had removed from *Demirtash*. There, being chagrined at seeing himself thus forgot, as if he had not been among the Living, and not one of his People having any Correspondence at *Constantinople*, he desired to depart, and to pass through the Emperor's Dominions; which was very readily granted him.

The Court of *Vienna* issued Orders, that the whole Expence of him and his Retinue should be every where defrayed; and they met with a very honourable Reception in his Imperial Majesty's Territories. As to the King himself, having followed the Emperor's Advice, rather to take a
long

long Journey round in the Empire, than to come near *Saxony*, he set out with only one Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel *During*; and, without making himself any where known, he arrived on the fourteenth Day at *Stralsund*.

At his Arrival in that City, General *Ranck's* Negotiation, for the Marriage of the hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, which had been set on Foot in *Turkey*, was brought to a Conclusion. The Landgrave himself came some time after to wait on the King, and made him some Propositions of Peace with King *Augustus*. But, their Differences not being easy to reconcile, the Landgrave's Negotiation had no Effect.

All the preceding Illustrations, as well upon the Loss of the Battle of *Pultawa*, as upon many Events that happened in *Turkey*, will perhaps suffice to give new Light to the Author of the History, concerning one of the greatest Heroes of the Age, and the most extraordinary Man of our Times.

If he had out-lived the unfortunate Campaign in *Norway*, his Plan, for Designs much more surprising than any of the preceding, was entirely laid down, and ready for Execution; and his Peace with the Czar was already quite adjusted, and so far advanced, that it wanted nothing but the Ratification.

F I N I S.



